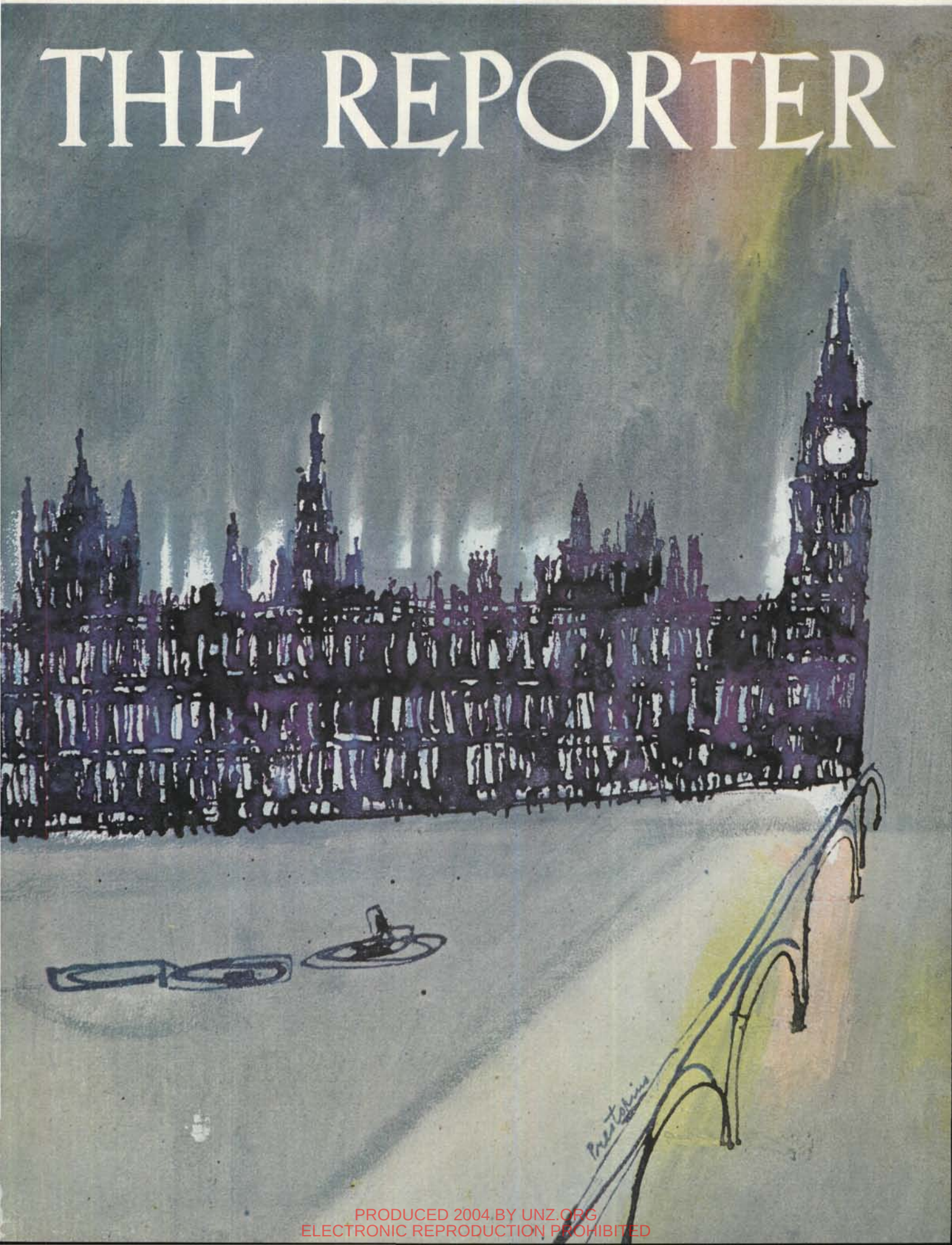
oc May 23, 1963 35¢

Opening to the Left in the Two Romes

What Price Conventional War?

THE REPORTER



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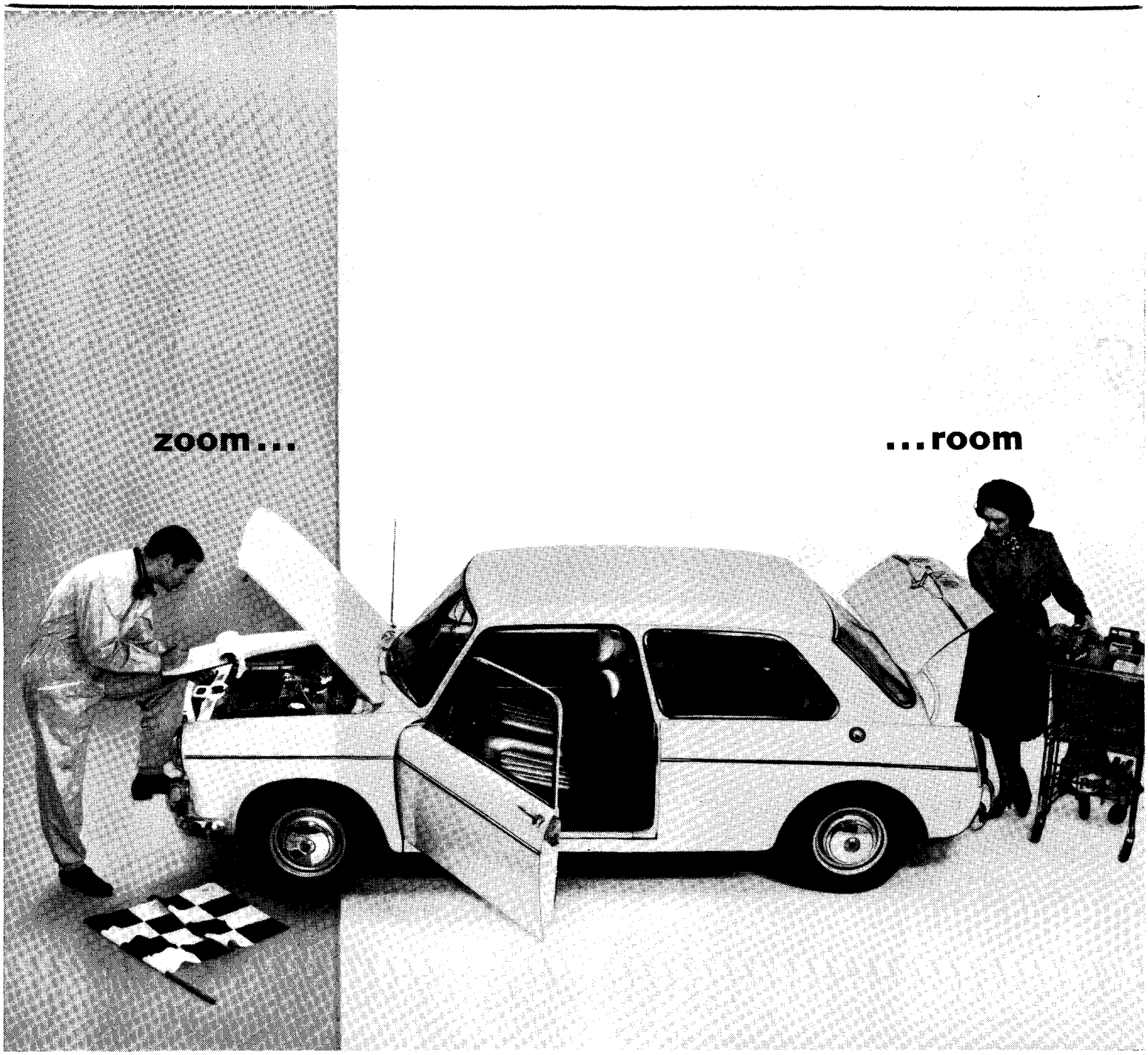

Either way you look at it, the MG Sports Sedan is a startling new entry on the American scene. Not just a new car—but a new concept, this dignified little giant offers up an amazing amount of exciting automotive features. For example . . .

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Yet it is a car so tame, so domesticated, that anyone can drive it and still reap 24 to 30 mpg. A car so easily handled that it can glide through big city traffic, sniff out the tiniest of parking spaces and slide into it like a coin in a slot.

Which now brings us to the MG Sports Sedan's revolutionary new fluid suspension system . . . an amazing achievement (especially in a small car) that eliminates the need for springs and shock absorbers, yet impressively delivers a creamy-soft ride . . . a ride that flattens hills, anticipates bumps and humbles rocky roads.

There are other aspects of the MG Sports Sedan's personality that bear your looking into but that defy the limited space this page has to offer. Suffice it to say that here is the first truly new automobile in many a year. A family automobile that economically combines sports car flair with limousine comfort. A car that can be expertly serviced through over 1,000 dealers in the U.S. and Canada. A car that is an elegant little rascal, bigger on the inside than it appears on the outside. A car that is at your MG Dealer now—and costs nothing to try.

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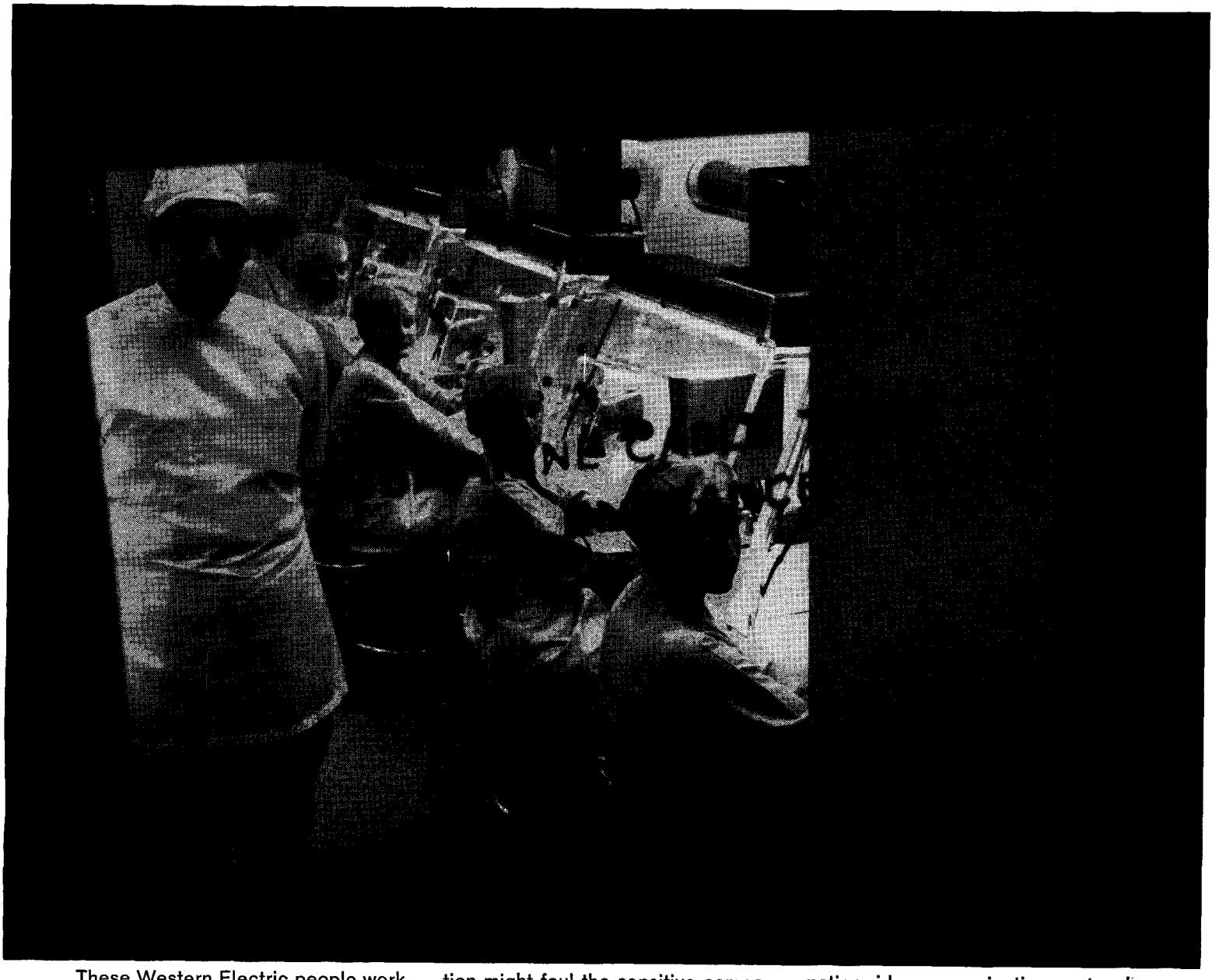

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TIME IS SOMETHING YOU CAN PUSH AROUND

Until now, man has never believed he could win his war against the clock. You can hardly blame him. The moment he developed anything new or wonderful, time in its remorseless way began to destroy it. Da Vinci's rueful comment seemed right, "Oh Time, Thou that consumest all Things!" And yet, Da Vinci was wrong – refuted by his own Mona Lisa, still around nearly five centuries later.

In those five centuries, man—stubbornly determined to re-make his universe instead of re-making himself to fit—has evolved a new view of our ancient foe. Far from being the eternal tyrant, time is actually something you can push around. Only a little, so far. But camera, printing press and sound recording prove that time cannot wipe out the past. And the present lasts far longer than it used to. For we've made time slow down . . . curbed the old despot's destructive disposition by learning to postpone, almost indefinitely, the damage he can do. The things we use and enjoy most—cars, clothes, furniture, home—now change far less in a year than they used to change in a day.

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In many big and little ways, time isn't pushing us around quite as much as he used to. We're giving the "bald old cheat" a pinch here, a pull there. We may never be able to turn time off and on like a water tap, but sure as spaceships, we *can* make him change his ways.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

AT THE TIME of his election in 1958, it was assumed that Pope John XXIII had been a compromise candidate, and he was generally viewed as a kind-hearted, popular old man who could be counted on to hold things together for a while. Everyone was in for a surprise. His Holiness has already made a profound impression both on his church and on the attitude of non-Catholics toward that church all around the world. His latest encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, is a major historical document, whose impact cannot yet be measured. In this issue **Max Ascoli** gives his own reactions. . . . In giving his tacit approval to what has been called "the opening to the Left," the Pope may also have played a significant role in the recent Italian elections. **Claire Sterling** analyzes the potential governmental chaos in one of the major nations of the Western Alliance.

WE PUBLISH in this issue the third of a series of articles on the administration's current military strategy for NATO. (The first two were "NATO's Nuclear Dilemma" by Henry A. Kissinger in our March 28 issue and "A New Start for the Alliance" by Eugene V. Rostow in the April 25 issue.) **Bernard Brodie** of the RAND Corporation has been described as the dean of civilian commentators on military affairs. His contributions to the debate on limited war in the nuclear age date back as far as January, 1952, when his knowledge of the development of the hydrogen bomb prompted him to begin writing a series of classified speeches and papers on the subject of limited war. His article "Unlimited Weapons and Limited War" in *The Reporter* of November 18, 1954, made the debate public for the first time. His present article expresses his belief that the administration has gone much too far with what is basically a reasonable idea and that its leaders are pushing the idea so far as to put in question their sense of political realism. Dr. Brodie's views as expressed here should not, of course, be taken to reflect the opinions of the RAND Corporation or any of its governmental or private research sponsors. . . . **Tom Brooks** is a free-lance writer and former assistant labor editor of *Business Week*. . . . **Elinor Richey** lives in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago about which she writes. A native of Mississippi, she offers a timely reminder that not all the troubles of American Negroes occur in the South. . . . **Allen B. Ballard, Jr.,** is assistant professor of political science at the City College, New York. . . . **Willard W. Howard** teaches economics at Phoenix College in Arizona.

PAINFUL EXPERIENCE has taught the modern art critic that regardless of the patent absurdity of what he may be looking at, it is dangerous to use a simple word like "rubbish." On the other hand, it is intellectually impossible not to accept the plain fact at least that some contemporary "art" objects must, if only by the law of averages, be plain trash. **Elaine Kendall** gives moral support to those who would like to be courageous. Mrs. Kendall is now working on an "irreverent book about men—for once not about women—that will also have something in it about art". . . . **Joseph Hitrec,** who interviewed Yugoslavia's Nobel Prize winner, is a native Yugoslav. He has written *Son of the Moon, Angel of Gaiety,* and a collection of short stories, *Rulers, Morning* (all published by Harper & Row). . . . **Howard Nemerov,** whose latest book is *The Next Room of the Dream; Poems and Two Plays* (University of Chicago), teaches at Hollins College, Virginia. . . . **Max Salvadori,** the author of *Liberal Democracy* and *The Economics of Freedom* (Doubleday), teaches at Smith and Bennington Colleges. He was in Italy at the moment of liberation as an officer with the British forces. . . . **Robert P. Knapp, Jr.,** is a New York attorney. . . . **Virginia Held** is the author of *The Bewildered Age* (Clarkson N. Potter). . . . **Nat Hentoff** regularly contributes his comments on jazz.

Our cover for this issue is by **Gregorio Prestopino.**

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Sixty-Five Acres of History

As he watches NBC-TV's full-hour color special on "The Kremlin" the night of May 21, the thoughtful viewer may be amazed that Russia should have permitted us to take this unprecedented look beyond the walls of Moscow's fabled citadel. Well, brother, that makes two of us.

For while we'd long entertained hope of shooting such a film, it was about as remote a prospect as the Mets' winning (or even losing) a World Series. After all, even *Russian* television cameramen had never been allowed to film such inside-the-Kremlin landmarks as Lenin's apartment, the private chapel of the czars and the meeting Hall of the Supreme Soviet.

Mission to Moscow

But one optimistic day last June, Vice President Julian Goodman dispatched NBC News' Russian-speaking Lucy Jarvis to Moscow. Her mission (as associate producer): To gain permission for a film that would unreel Russia's history in terms of the color-rich architecture, icons, furniture and paintings of the palaces, cathedrals and government offices within the 65-acre Kremlin triangle.

Very much in Miss Jarvis' favor was the respect she had won from Soviet big-wigs two years ago, when Izvestia editor Aleksei Adzhubei (the son-in-law of Premier Khrushchev) came to the States for a freedom-of-the-press debate on a Jarvis-produced "The Nation's Future." Even so, it now took her two months to get an official green light for the "Kremlin" special.

Shortly afterward, Producer George A. Vicas, head of NBC News' Paris-based European Production Unit, arrived in Moscow with his crew. And once the filming actually got under way, the Russians couldn't have been more cooperative. To aid in our recreating their stormy history, they permitted us to use many crowns, scepters, jewels and other priceless relics that hadn't been out of their glass cases for generations.

They allowed us to simulate the 1812 burning of the Kremlin, a "conflagration" Vicas brought off so realistically that it drew a dozen Soviet fire engines (red) to the scene —despite their having been forewarned.

We were even granted permission to set up and fire a cannon in the middle of the Kremlin's Cathedral Square. This was done to recreate the explosive farewell of the pretender Dmitri, whose cinders—after he'd been hacked into pieces and incinerated—were placed in a cannon and fired off in the direction of his fellow-conspirators' native Poland.

Wall-to-Wall Coverage

In short, scarcely any request was denied Producer Vicas or NBC News Correspondent Frank Bourgholtzer —who'll be seen delivering the on-the-spot commentary. Largely as a result of this cooperation (and, of course, the narrative artistry of Vicas' cameras) the American viewer will be treated to a unique, eight-century panorama of Russian history, broadcast in magnificent color. All those spires, towers and cupolas should never seem quite so mysterious again.

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THE ADMINISTRATION

To the Editor: As you point out in your editorial of April 25: "This is a queer administration, elusive in the way it operates, over-concerned with the image and shadow it projects, ever ready to claim abiding allegiance to a multitude of invariably lofty but not always reconcilable purposes."

You are most kind in these remarks. If the vernacular were to be used, the paragraph would appear more like this: "This Kennedy administration is a complete phony, always trying to impress the American people that it is doing good when it is actually doing nothing, always ready to fight for worthy causes as long as a showdown is not necessary for fear that it might hurt its chances for re-election."

GEORGE L. COMET
New York

To the Editor: In your lucid description of the dangers of excessive "chumminess" between the leaders of our government and the American press, you cite "the ever mounting campaign against de Gaulle." It is certainly true that most of our organs of information, including quite a few that do not normally support members of Mr. Kennedy's political party, have tended over the past several months to portray President de Gaulle as a self-centered, obstructionist old man whose antics were nonetheless being tolerated with amazing patience by the wise young fellows in the White House. Having in large measure shared this view myself, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you for helping open my eyes to at least some of the quite reasonable concerns that must be on the minds of many thoughtful Europeans. I would cite in addition to your editorials the excellent articles by Henry A. Kissinger in your March 28 issue and by Eugene V. Rostow in the issue of April 25. The problems are indeed complicated, and I am not at all ready to say that de Gaulle has all the right answers by any means, but you have at least made it clear to me that we must pay attention to what he says.

RUTH WARDELL
Tucson, Arizona

SIC SEMPER SEC

To the Editor: Because we enjoy *The Reporter* so much we were disappointed and surprised that you would print something like SEC's poem "The Powell and the Glory" (*The Reporter*, March 28). It doesn't belong in a fine magazine like *The Reporter*.

MARVIN WILLIAMS
Mexico City, Mexico

To the Editor: Three cheers for SEC on her Powell poem. She has more courage than most of us. Hear our sad theme:

SONG OF A TOLERANCE ADVOCATE

I travel in liberal circles,
And I make it a point to remember
To never get riled
At man, woman, or child,
Who is a minority member.

For it gives me an uneasy feeling
That he'll think I'm a bigot, and so
I can't make attacks on
A non-Anglo-Saxon . . .
Even when it's apropos.

But it's boring to check on religion
Before I release my grimace,
And I find that I tire
Of restricting my ire
To those of Caucasian race.

Sing ho! for a prejudice-free land
Where my conscience I needn't appease,
Gee, it would be great
To snarl at, berate,
And dislike anybody I please.

BARBARA TOOHEY
North Hollywood, California

DEMI-DRAMATISTS

To the Editor: Marya Mannes's critique ("The Half-World of American Drama," *The Reporter*, April 25) was interesting and astute, particularly when she spoke of the creatures being "proffered as women."

Many of our playwrights seem to have no knowledge of normal man-woman relationships, and their women are either drab nonentities or domineering, devouring, lustful monsters.

E. C. FUNK
Berkeley, California

To the Editor: Marya Mannes should be allowed the luxury of several curtain calls for her perceptive and incisive clinical analysis of the ills besetting contemporary American drama. To paraphrase Rousseau, "The American dramatists were born free but everywhere are in bondage to the lowest levels of humanity."

JAMES J. RYAN
Mishawaka, Indiana

CANTERBURY TO OXFORD

To the Editor: It was good of you to give us Robert Rushmore's narration ("A Canterbury Tale," *The Reporter*, April 25). The telling of this gruesome parable loses none of its significance over

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Automotive architect—creative yet practical. This GM designer is contemplating a possible 196-? model car . . . devoting his imagination, creativity and talent to a design of the future. Ideas are his business. Ideas are his life. They are expressed in General Motors products of today —and in GM products for tomorrow.

He is one of 1400 men and women on the GM Styling Staff . . . all dedicated to progress. Their job: to give products eye-appeal . . . and to develop a form exactly suited to each product and its use. They blend design elements such as line, plane, form, color and texture to create the utmost in visual beauty . . . and to enhance quality, convenience and safety, too. They also look far ahead, constantly searching and planning new and better things for the coming years.

The stylist is one of many employes to whom General Motors owes much of its leadership. Collectively, with shareholders (more than a million of them) and thousands of suppliers and dealers, these men and women of General Motors are responsible for GM's progress, past and future.

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the 130 years that have separated those events in Canterbury (Connecticut) from those in Oxford (Mississippi).

Given a similar period of time, doubtless to be filled with more high-court decisions and more bloody combat, it would be comforting to assume that the sacrifices made by Miss Crandall as well as by the faculty of the University of Mississippi might be fully atoned for. On the other hand, this nation can not afford the luxury of comfortable assumptions for another 130 years.

J. S. Ellenberger
Washington, D.C.

GARBLED GLENS

To the Editor: As usual, Maya Pines has produced a most penetrating and useful piece of reporting in "Terra Incognita" (*The Reporter*, May 9). As she noted, some progress has been made in the teaching of non-western cultures, but the movement lacks focus and leadership. It is clear that the problem no longer is one of persuading textbook publishers, school administrators, teachers, and teachers' colleges to pay more attention to the non-western world, but one of agreeing on the aims and content of such studies.

The major recommendation which emerged from our meeting for textbook publishers and writers reported on by Miss Pines is a high-level study that would set clear objectives in the teaching of non-western cultures. A report of this meeting can be obtained free of charge from the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Washington 25, D.C.

Eugene Sochor
Assistant Director, Secretariat
U.S. National Commission for UNESCO
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: The article "Terra Incognita" is extremely well done. Miss Pines has caught the flavor and the spirit of our program.

My only criticism of the handling of the story relates to the "Who—What—Why" column on page 4. I don't know where the information came from about the annual races for sports cars claimed for this community. We are twenty miles from the Saratoga race tracks for horses, and (if you want a Chamber of Commerce treatment) there are boat races on Lake George as well as golf, basketball, and other tournaments. But not sports cars.

Harold M. Long, Director
Improving the Teaching
of World Affairs
Glens Falls, New York

(In referring to an article that dealt, among other things, with the importance of teaching American schoolchildren more about world geography, we hope we only strengthened the case by confusing Glens Falls with Watkins Glen.)

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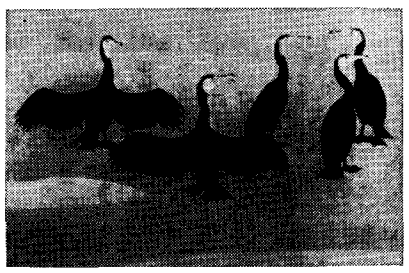

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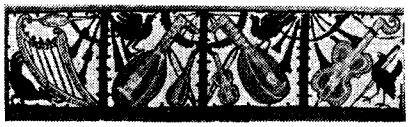

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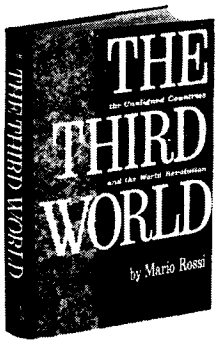

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

From Birmingham

The beginning of the end of segregation in Birmingham can be dated back to November, 1961, when Eugene "Bull" Connor, the city commissioner of public safety, arrested the manager of the city bus terminal four times in two weeks for serving Negroes in accordance with the desegregation ruling of the ICC. Two months later, in January, 1962, when the appropriate Federal desegregation order went into effect, the Bull closed all the city's parks, community centers, and golf courses rather than expose them to the Negro public. Besides suffering economic troubles, Birmingham was getting just too much bad national and international publicity. Later last year the citizens of Birmingham decided they had had enough of their city administration and voted it out of office by special referendum in favor of a reform group. But the Bull contested the legality of the referendum, insisting that his régime could not be removed until its term expired in 1965. The issue was referred to the state supreme court for decision on May 17.

It was in the middle of this hiatus that Birmingham's Negroes, backed by various state and interstate religious and human-rights organizations and led by Dr. Martin Luther King, struck in what must be the best-organized and most highly disciplined action ever mounted by Negroes. An economic boycott was accompanied by mass demonstrations of grade-school children and high-school and college students. The boycott has been well-nigh one hundred per cent effective and the nonviolent demonstrations have been remarkable for their purposefulness and athletic precision. By striking when the city was drifting between two administrations, the protest made the city's segregation ordinances seem even more arbitrary than they are and made Connor appear even sillier than he is—if that is possible. In a single evening, Connor ordered King's arrest so many times that observers lost count. King remained at liberty that evening because there were patently no grounds for his arrest (he was merely trying to talk to Connor), and Connor's orders produced nothing more than a certain footlessness among the policemen charged with carrying them out.

The confused city has been under continual and urgent visitation by discreet phantoms of the Justice Department led by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, who has manipulated the exceedingly intricate situation as effectively as anyone could from behind the scenes, at the end of a direct line to Bobby Kennedy. In the presence of two city governments, one discredited by the voters and the other not yet installed by the courts, Marshall decided that the better part of wisdom was to deal with neither, but to set up negotiations between Negro leaders and what Dr. King calls "the economic power structure" of the city—specifically, members of the Chamber of Commerce—as the only major element in the white community whose stability of tenure and influence was beyond any legal dispute.

The "city government" (the Connor régime) tried to assert itself by announcing over and over again that it would not honor agree-

PRINCETON

White boys riot
For no reason
Except the impulse
Of the season;

Dark boys huddle
In a prison
For rising with
A people risen.

—SEC

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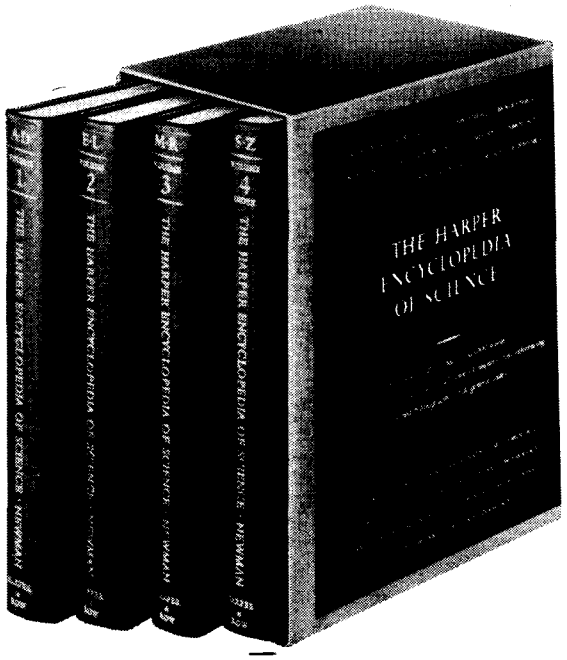

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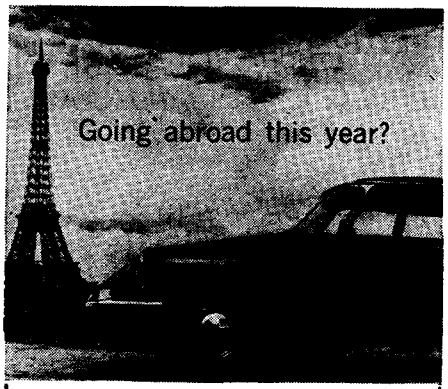

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ments reached between the Negro leaders and the merchants. But all those boasts were sustained only partially by reality: at the least the Connor régime has a nuisance value by prolonging insecurity in Birmingham; at most it is capable of rendering the economic burden of the white merchants even more onerous than it has been. This helps explain why the agreement reached between the Negroes and the white merchants is necessarily restricted to those three points (desegregation of lunch counters, upgrading of Negro employees, and the establishment of a biracial control committee) which lie within the capability of the Chamber of Commerce, and why the Negroes have been somewhat less insistent about the fourth point (release of, and dropping of charges against, all those arrested during the demonstrations), since it is clearly outside the competence of the merchants. Finally, this is why the agreement as it now stands stipulates implementation of the three points on a schedule dating from the state supreme court's decision, regardless of what it may be.

The influx into Birmingham of white supporters for the Negro movement from the North may have contributed inadvertently to the at least temporary discontinuance of the demonstrations. The arrival of nineteen rabbis in addition to the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain of Yale, and the Reverend John Eusden, chaplain of Williams, added new urgency to the activities of the Justice Department. The clergymen were earnestly requested to desist from taking part in the demonstrations. Protestant ministers from the North, both Negroes and whites, have been arrested before. But apparently the prospect of a phalanx of nineteen rabbis marching into Birmingham jail in what much of the press has so far continually and exaggeratedly described as "race riots" was adjudged to be more than the country's international reputation could bear.

The demonstrations caught the Kennedy administration off guard and the Justice Department in the midst of its slow, assiduous work on the registration of Negro voters in the South. This is calculated to bring one-quarter of the eligible Negro voters into the electoral system by 1964 and thus offset probable Democratic losses in the white Southern vote, provided the administration's civil-rights program can be held down to a steady, unspectacular rate of progress. Hence the administration's concern to keep the lid on in Alabama and to keep state troopers out of Birmingham in order to avoid the necessity of sending in Federal troops. Hence the President's refusal to withhold Federal funds and government contracts from Alabama. And hence the strange, face-saving division of function that has the whites announcing agreement in general while the Negroes announce its particulars. Of course there were other—and higher—motives involved. But sometimes even political motives can serve the cause of justice.

—GEORGE BAILEY

A Republican Footnote

Democrats are not alone in their concern over the political ramifications of the recent disorders in the South. Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky has had this to say about the Republican record:

"Some in our party, in spite of such outrages as have occurred in Birmingham, and in other places in the country even outside the South, still maintain that the issues of civil rights are local ones to be resolved by the States. Such an argument would lead one to believe that Lincoln never argued that human rights and human dignity were national issues; that he never fought the same argument of Douglas that these issues could be determined locally—and on this argument made the Republican Party a national party, a party which moved the conscience of the country and the world.

" . . . If our party uses the expedient argument of States' rights with respect to constitutional and human rights—in an effort to secure convention or electoral votes—it is possible we might win a few Southern States in 1964. But in the long run, such a position will destroy the Republican Party, and worse, it will do a great wrong because it will be supporting the denial of the constitutional and human rights of our citizens."

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IS HAITI NEXT?

ADOLF A. BERLE

The current Caribbean crisis in Haiti may prove bigger and more dangerous than Cuba. Bigger, because it builds on the already perilous Cuban situation. More dangerous, because it presents the possibility of a race war.

The surface danger (least of the elements involved) is the conflict between the Dominican Republic, headed by newly elected President Juan Bosch, and the dissolving Haitian régime of the discredited dictator François Duvalier. As opposition mounted against him and his gangster forces (the "Ton Ton Macoute" or "bogeymen"), Duvalier started to round up all suspected of ill will toward him. Several dozen took refuge in the Dominican embassy in Port-au-Prince. Duvalier forces violated the embassy. Bosch immediately replied with an ultimatum: liberate the embassy and give safe-conduct out of the country to the Haitians who had taken asylum there. Simultaneously he mobilized Dominican troops on the mountain border that divides the island of Hispaniola between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

By itself, this might be a manageable matter as international crises go. Unhappily, underlying it are graver forces. Several years ago the Communist high command began paying attention to Haiti. Instructions and ideological strategy were handled through France under supervision of a French Communist, Pierre Hervé. One tenet of the party line laid down for Haiti was racial: whites, including Haitians having any white blood at all (the "jaunes" or mulattoes), should be considered class enemies, "agents of American imperialism," and liquidated. As the Duvalier régime turned into dictatorship, a few men who either have been known as active Communists or whose views are clearly close to those of Moscow secured positions in the Haitian government. Among these are Finance Minister Hervé Boyer, Commerce Minister Clovis Desinor, and a confidant of Duvalier's, former Public Information Officer Paul Blanchet. Similar arrangements had been made during the last days of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba. It is the familiar Communist tactic of supporting and infiltrating a dictatorship in order to take over when it falls.

Since Castro made Cuba a Communist satellite, Haitian affairs obviously have become a joint concern of Havana and Moscow. There are many Haitians in Cuba. In addition, I am informed that several months ago a wave of French-speaking Africans, often said to be from Guinea, began to arrive in Havana. As to their numbers, the minimum estimate is 2,500; the maximum, 10,000. Early in May these French Africans were seen on the streets of Havana. The general assumption was that their destination was Haiti.

A number are currently reported concentrated in Santiago. Some are said already to have crossed the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti by small boats, infiltrating the Haitian mountains. The landing point is said to have been at Les Cayes, in the south of Haiti.

As the Dominican quarrel built up, the Duvalier régime resorted to the historic Haitian practice of liquidating its enemies behind heavy press censorship. Political opponents held in Haitian jails were killed. As soon as the mission sent by the Organization of American States retired from Port-au-Prince after negotiating the withdrawal of the Haitian soldiers and of some but not all the refugees in the Dominican embassy, Duvalier's liquidation process seems to have been stepped up. Haitian exiles report two thousand deaths, including a number of Haitian army officers. Nobody can be sure, but the number of victims must certainly be high. Terrorism and the progressive disintegration of the Duvalier government, apparently in its death throes, thus continues. The growing chaos clears the way for a seizure of Haiti by someone, and the Africans waiting in Cuba are obviously there to back a candidate. It is said that Duvalier contemplates proclaiming himself a "Cuban-type socialist," seeking protection for his state from the Moscow bloc.

The implications of racial hostilities fomented by Communism—blacks against mulattoes and whites—open a frightening vista. At the U.N., Haiti's foreign minister has demanded support for "the only black nation of the Americas." The matter is in the hands of the Organization of American States, which now, it would seem, has a much larger task than merely solving a diplomatic dispute.

The government of the United States knows what is happening, though it has not announced the facts. Rightly, it cut practically all aid to Duvalier some months ago. Our government, like the Organization of American States, is presented with a triple problem: defense of the sovereignty of the Haitian people, establishment of minimal rights and living standards, and prevention of the further spread of an overseas Communist empire in the Caribbean archipelago.

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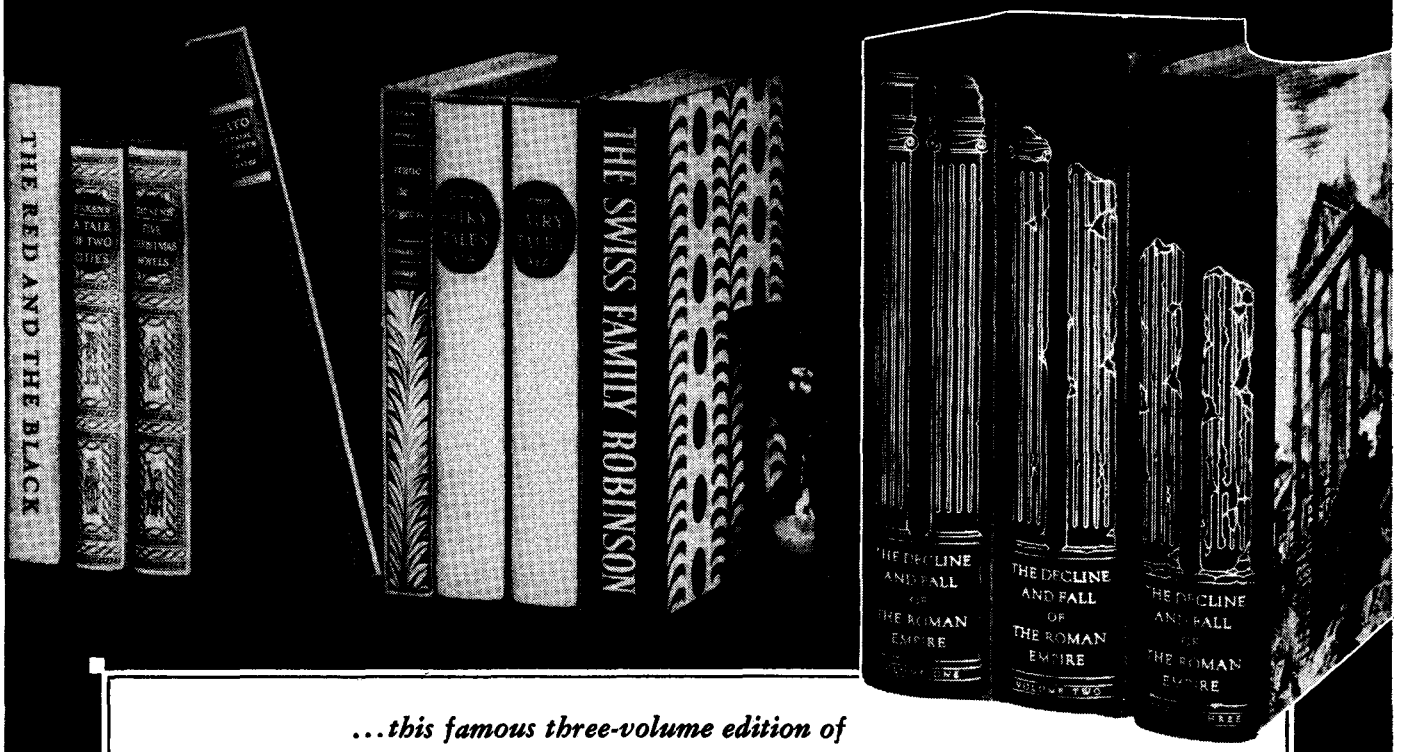
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Pacem in Terris

SCARCELY THREE WEEKS after John XXIII released to the world his *Pacem in Terris* encyclical, the Italian Republic held its fourth general election. The Church of Rome is properly called Catholic, for it claims spiritual jurisdiction over the whole of mankind and actually exercises it over half a billion men, scattered all over the world. The Italian Republic is just a nation among nations; yet the Bishop of Rome is the Pope, and Italy happens to have the largest Communist Party in the West, confronted by a Catholic party that is also the largest party of its kind in the world. While it would be absurd to attribute to the encyclical a major responsibility for the Catholic setback in the election, it is not improper, I think, to consider whether the election returns offer a first glimpse both at the effects and the causes of the encyclical.

The first session of the Ecumenical Council had already made it quite clear: John XXIII has no patience with anti-Communist crusading. Some other temporal institution, some other leader with a world-wide following can do the crusading, but the militancy of the Catholic Church in the anti-Communist cause can by no means be taken for granted. In this matter, the Pope had the support of a large section of the Ecumenical Council. There is no sense in speculating whether the councilors so inclined were an actual or a potential majority: the Church is not ruled according to majority principles. In moving somewhat to the Left, the Church is not giving its blessing to totalitarian atheism but is signifying its willingness to live with it and its expectations of outliving it. It has done so much outliving. For the immediate future, the Church of Silence has priority on the long list of the Pope's cares—the church of those who live in fear, where the practice of religion is barely tolerated, and where even inner belief is or may at any moment become outlawed. The Bishop of Rome has his heart in Warsaw.

In the Italian Republic and in the Pope's own bishopric, silence could hardly be called the prevailing virtue. All over the country, the clergy is frantically trying to hold its grip on a still prevailing though dwindling section of the population, using every means of politicking, from the spoils system to spiritual discipline and suasion. The parish priest doubles as a ward heeler for the Christian Democratic Party; he had better be shrewd and tough, for the Communist apparatus within his parish knows no scruples, moral or otherwise, in its unending quest for new party members and new party voters. Well before the encyclical, the Pope allowed the opening to the Socialist Left. During the last campaign the threat of ultimate spiritual punishment for those who voted Communist was tacitly removed. "Vote according to your conscience," was the notice posted at the doors of the churches. Men and, it has been said, women in even greater numbers thus voted Communist free from the prospect of eternal damnation.

John XXIII must have thought that the Italian clergy had better spiritual and practical weapons at its disposal than the threat of hell. Or possibly he may have decided that the clergy and the lay leaders of the Christian Democratic Party could use to good advantage the scare coming from further Communist gains, the humiliation of having political Catholicism once more rebuked in the country whose capital is Rome and whose unity had been achieved a century ago against the temporal and spiritual power of the Church.

This old Italian priest, a man born from the purest and poorest peasant stock, has proved his willingness to take great chances with the destiny of the Church in his own country. He cannot help knowing that the Italian clergy, indeed the Roman Curia, is not overendowed with daring. He knows there are fortunate exceptions, especially because he is one of them. What to others may appear as a reckless gamble, to him is a simple, joyful act of faith. This is what he has done with his encyclical: he has taken a gigantic risk for his Church—and not only for his Church. The nearly unanimous effort on the part of Catholics and non-Catholics alike to avoid seeing the risk has, if anything, multiplied it.

WHAT seems to have been most noticed about the encyclical is that the Pope comes out most ardently for peace, something that can scarcely be considered newsworthy. More significant is the fact that the message is addressed not to the Catholic faithful only but to all men of good will, thereby offering to any real or self-styled peace lover a pontifical man-of-good-will certificate. This, too, however, can be considered as an act of charitable forgiveness toward those characters who

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for years have assiduously tried to monopolize peace-lovingness. John XXIII takes them at their word and addresses himself to them too. He lives up to the calling of his faith, and avoids talking only to the converted. A liberal can only rejoice in realizing how those strictures, which for so long the Church kept inflicting on liberalism, are now being spared the Communists. There is no Syllabus against the Communists, and why should there be?

The liberal beliefs not only have survived the punishment of the Church but now have been adopted wholeheartedly, and indeed with a vengeance, by John XXIII in his encyclical. The process that started with Leo XIII reaches its joyful, ultimate culmination in *Pacem in Terris*. All the rights of men, the right to which the human person is entitled just because of his humanness, the right to worship or (presumably) not to worship according to one's conscience, are fervently proclaimed. It is not a dry catalogue; rather, it is a passionate summary of human achievements that had been dearly paid for by men of true good will during struggles that lasted centuries. The freedoms of the human conscience have been won from the constituted authorities of many a church, and certainly not only of the Catholic one.

But why should one look toward the past? For those who believe in freedom it is good to know that the Church, at long last, is with them. Among liberals, true Catholics have always been in the forefront: now they are vindicated. To all the civil and spiritual rights of man, comparatively speaking newer ones are added—those granted by the so-called welfare state. Abandoning the time-honored theological disquisitions as to the origin of those rights, the Pope finds their eternal, inalienable source in the nature of man—a somewhat dangerous position, particularly considering how many human beings have been and are being robbed of their birthright. The encyclical, however, zestfully lists all these rights as if they were, or were going to be at any moment, universally enforced. It proceeds to enumerate the collective ones, the right of any group that calls itself a nation to acquire self-government on demand. It applauds the fact that the ministers of government hold office for only a limited time—a privilege with which, unfortunately, quite a number of nations are not endowed.

As to the attainment of what is still undone, the reaching of an order where all men and all nations may possess what is due to them and peace may truly reign on earth, the Pope's recommendation is of a nature for which it is difficult to find a name. Is it sublime, is it childish, is it heroic? Men must disarm, he says; they must make peace. The Communists are not the only obstacle to disarmament and peace, but most certainly they are the major one, and how can we, the West, deal with the Communists? By meeting them, he says: ". . . in every human being, there is a need that is congenital to his nature and never becomes extinguished, compelling him to break through the web of error and open his mind to the knowledge of truth." Wasn't Hitler, wasn't Stalin, a human being?

Somehow John XXIII seems to find a reason for optimism in the very fact that in our own time means of destruction exist that threaten to obliterate mankind. "It can happen," he says, "that . . . a meeting for the attainment of some practical end, which was formerly deemed inopportune or unproductive, might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful." From "false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin, and destiny of the universe and of man," movements can result that "conform to the dictates of right reason . . ." Good can come from wrong or evil ideas: ". . . one must never confuse error and the person who errs." However, the confusion does not seem to be so dangerous, considering that not only the man who errs but the error too can ultimately be redeemed.

Here is John XXIII's gamble, based on boundless faith. He knows the name of the most powerful among the men who err. This man may well agree with the Pope, only the other way around, and think that, after all, some good may even come from the Catholic, un-Marxist error. Immensely different as they are, those two men have one thing in common: they are both sophisticated peasants. Each has done his sowing. But for the harvest, one relies on prayer, the other on history, and never stops giving history a hand.

IT IS IDLE to deny that, driven by his urge for peace, the Pope has established a position of his own between East and West. Perhaps he could not do otherwise. He leads an institution that is in this world, but by no means exclusively of this world. The Church is dedicated to the business of linking man to divinity. Therefore, the Church is heavily outbalanced in the direction of the one world for which men, according to the Catholic belief, must prepare themselves. The Catholic Church is not the only one with this functional structure, although it is the most elaborate, imposing, and at the present time perhaps the most exposed to the dangers coming from the decrease of interest in things unseen and life hereafter.

The Catholic Church, with John XXIII, has proclaimed its belief in human freedoms for which it cannot fight. It offers men standards and principles and guidance, but the difficulties of this world must be confronted by using the means of this world. It is one of the high traditions of countries that have had long experience with the Church that respect for it must always be accompanied by critical vigilance toward the Church's intervention in things political.

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The Italian Elections: Even Worse Than Before

CLAIRE STERLING

ROME

THE RECENT ELECTIONS can hardly be said to have settled Italy's political problems The new parliament is just a little worse than the last two, which were nearly unworkable. The Communists will be stronger this time, their share of the vote having gone up from twenty-two per cent to twenty-five per cent, whereas the ruling Christian Democrats have dropped from forty-two per cent to thirty-eight per cent, losing all but a theoretical freedom of choice. Like the outgoing parliament, the new one offers them no practical alternative to a coalition with the Socialists—which they accepted in principle fifteen months ago when Premier Amintore Fanfani's Center-Left cabinet was formed. But they will be going into negotiations now as the only heavy losers in these elections, enabling the Socialists, who lost only 0.4 per cent, to set the terms. A shotgun wedding of this kind is not likely to bring five years of domestic peace.

Apart from an alliance with the Socialists, the Christian Democrats have only two mathematical possibilities of forming a majority coalition now. One would be with the Liberals and Fascists. But even if the Catholic party would risk a partnership with the Fascists after its calamitous experiment in that direction in 1960, the conservative but democratic Liberal Party has already said it would not. The other would be a Center coalition with the Liberals and Social Democrats, which the Social Democrats have long since rejected in principle and have every reason now to reject in practice: their support of the Center-Left formula has brought them 528,000 new votes in this election, raising their share of the total from 4.4 to 6.3 per cent and greatly increasing their influence. The Liberals' gain, most of it drawn from the moribund Monarchist Party, was even greater, from 3.5 to 7 per cent. They have become the fourth ranking Italian party.

IT WILL BE some time before the Christian Democrats can take a calm, reflective view of the new situation, not only in terms of their party but of the whole Center-Left experiment. The experiment had been conceived as the only way to stem the Communist tide and to modernize the country socially, juridically, fiscally, and educationally, so as to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding economy. The undertaking could not be expected to get results in barely a year. The two biggest parties concerned, in fact, had both anticipated a setback in these elections, with some conservative Christian Democrats switching to the free-enterprise Liberal Party and a comparable number of Socialists going over to the Communists. Then, with the elections out of the way and the balance of power presumably unchanged, the Center-Left parties could get down to business, hoping to be rewarded for their efforts in the next elections, five years hence.

Things have not turned out quite that way. True, the combined vote of all the Center-Left parties—Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Republican, Socialist—came to fifty-eight per cent, indicating that well over half the electorate either approves of the experiment or doesn't disapprove violently enough to bolt party lines in protest. Nevertheless, the balance of power within the coalition has shifted appreciably; the Christian Democrats' vote has been whittled away, with practically all the whittling done by their Social Democratic and Socialist partners, and a great number of voters did not stop there but went straight on to the Communist Party. With more than a million votes added to the 6,700,000 they had before, the Communists can rightfully claim to be the real winners—and they do.

Disturbing the Pacem

Two elements in these elections may help to explain what happened. For one thing, the Socialists were in the government orbit for the first time since the war, a fact that was bound to alter the traditional voting habits of the Italian working class. The change left no choice of parties for

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the workers who wanted to express a protest for all sorts of reasons: because they hadn't gotten enough out of the economic boom, or had gotten enough to want more, or resented some social injustice, or simply assumed—as many other Italians do—that any government, whatever its pretensions, must be a den of thieves. The Communists, therefore, were left alone to catch an always sizable if sometimes frivolous anti-government vote, and by "reaping their neighbor's field," as the Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti advised, they also picked up the votes of many Socialists who, clinging to their old faith in working-class unity, strongly disapproved of their party's desertion to the capitalist camp.

At least as important an element was the shift in the Catholic Church. From the time he was elected in 1958, Pope John XXIII has shown an increasing desire to break through the barriers that have sealed the Church off from a Communist world that now contains a third of the human race. He has made a continuing effort to establish the conditions for a *modus vivendi* with Communism, especially within the past year. The pointed failure of the Ecumenical Council to speak out against Communism, the spectacular visit of Khrushchev's son-in-law to the Pope in the middle of the election campaign, and, also in the middle of the campaign, the *Pacem in Terris* encyclical which removed much of the stigma that the Church had placed on Communism in the past—all have helped to lower the Catholics' once rigid anti-Communist guard, and the Italian Communist Party has made the most of the situation.

This result has certainly shocked the Church hierarchy, which, in moving along the new course, had obviously been thinking in terms of a billion people rather than of the fifty million in Italy. Though the Christian Democrats too had sought to exploit the encyclical, they were plainly the losers by it. Italy's ruling party had come into being primarily to provide a democratic vehicle for all the disparate Catholic voters whose greatest concern was to stop Communism. It has acquired other important functions, and indeed has adopted much more advanced economic and social policies than anyone would have expected a few years back. But where anti-Communism has been the Christian Democrats' strongest unifying force, their social and economic policies have been perpetually divisive. With the emphasis shifting from the one to the other, many Catholic voters felt free to pick another party in these elections.

Whatever the other reasons for the Communist advance and the Christian Democratic decline, both of these elements will have a serious effect on the incoming Center-Left government. There doesn't seem to be much chance now that the Catholics and Socialists will work together with the give-and-take that the experiment needs. Each side, in fact, is liable to become a good deal tougher.

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS have always been divided about this experiment and now they are more divided than ever. As a practical solution to the immediate problems of administering the country, and perhaps even as a longer-term answer to the threat of Communist resurgence, the centrist factions that constitute the majority of the Catholic party are pressing for a return to a minority government composed entirely of Christian Democrats but

able to muster support as needed from the Left or the Right. The centrists and the conservative followers of former Premier Mario Scelba now control 160 of the 260 Christian Democratic deputies in the chamber and have the prestigious support of President Antonio Segni, whereas Fanfani himself can depend on only twenty-eight deputies. He hopes to cling to the premiership as head of a sort of caretaker government until the Socialists decide their post-election policy at the party congress this summer. But Giuseppe Saragat's Social Democrats have served notice that they consider Fanfani to be discredited by the election results and are now threatening a government crisis. Even if the Catholic leaders decide to reconstruct the experiment, it is far from certain they will leave Fanfani in charge. They are much more apt to pick a premier who is inclined, as they are, to make the minimum concessions to the Socialists.

On the other hand, the Socialists will inevitably raise the price of their collaboration. Since they plainly have the Catholics over a barrel, it would be unnatural if they didn't. There is no longer much doubt that about two-thirds of the Socialists are eager to make their break with the Communists final. They proved this during the election campaign, when they fought hard and successfully against the Communists and their agents in the Socialist Party. Where the Socialist delegation in the last parliament was split almost exactly in half between autonomists and the pro-Communists, the autonomists now have more than fifty deputies against the thirty pro-Communists. Nevertheless, even the autonomous Socialists are still Marxists, with a full set of dogmatic prescriptions and a rare opportunity now to apply them. But they are not so free to act as they might think, or even to make the compromises today that they might have made some months ago. As the party competing most directly with the Communists for worker support, theirs is by far the most intimately concerned by the Communists' spurt forward, and the most frightened by it. Whatever the private inclinations of Socialist leaders like Pietro Nenni or Riccardo Lombardi, they dare not demand much less than their Communist rivals do, or any less than they can possibly get.

For instance, they will plainly have to insist now on the controversial plan to divide Italy into self-governing regions, many of which would certainly fall under Communist control. Aside from that, they will probably press hard for accelerated reforms of nearly all the country's economic and social insti-

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tutions—the banks, the stock market, the social security, fiscal, and agricultural systems, the wage structure—along with a heavy dose of state planning. The opening to the Left has already had some depressing effects on Italy's economic boom, and an increase in Socialist demands could lead to serious setbacks on the domestic scene.

The Socialist Question Mark

The most serious question is what is to become of Italy's foreign policy. Most supporters of the Center-Left coalition maintain that nothing much will happen to it. The Socialist Party, they say, is admittedly "internationalist, pacifist, and neutralist," as Nenni puts it; and, as Nenni also puts it, there is no point in searching for a formula that might reconcile these fundamental views with those of the democratic parties. "I consider it vain and useless," he told the foreign press recently, "to look for something that isn't there." Nevertheless, the Socialists do not oppose Italy's membership in NATO so long as the Warsaw Pact remains in existence, nor would they want Italy to make any unilateral move that might upset the present precarious balance between the two blocs. With good will on both sides, therefore, it should be possible to reach agreement on many specific issues. The Socialists have suggested some: atomic disarmament, opposition to de Gaulle's *force de frappe* and other "proliferating forms" of atomic armament, support of Britain's entrance into the Common Market, of a "denuclearized or demilitarized zone in Europe which does not alter the present balance of forces," and any kind of effort to improve East-West relations. By and large, they say, this is what the British Labour Party stands for—and indeed, what the Kennedy administration stands for; and no one could reasonably require Italy to become more pro-Atlantic than the dominant power in the Atlantic Alliance.

What is needed to put this presentation into perspective is a list of issues on which agreement might *not* be reached. How would the Socialists react, for example, if the Kennedy administration were to do something they *don't* like? What if the Atlantic Alliance should require a greater military contribution from Italy, atomic or otherwise? What if the western powers should bury their differences with de Gaulle? What if, above all, events in Moscow and Peking should lead to a full-scale revival of the cold war? On the first two questions, at least, the Socialists have not left much doubt as to the answer.

The Kennedy administration did do something the Socialists didn't like when it blockaded Cuba last October, and the reaction was immediate. The Socialist deputy Francesco de Martino, an autonomist, rose in the chamber to term the U.S. blockade "illegal, illegitimate, and contrary to international law," and said that it was directed against a nation whose revolution, "because of its aims and civilized measures," had the "full solidarity" of the Italian Socialist Party. There could be no reason, he went on, for Italian solidarity with the United States in this case, since the Italians were not bound to extend it "generically and limitlessly" beyond the lines drawn by the Atlantic Alliance. There was no mention in his speech of any Soviet responsibility for what he called "the grave threat to peace caused by the United States' declaration." What is more, Premier Fanfani didn't face that issue squarely either. In his address to parliament, he said that "It seems contradictory to create bases where they hadn't existed, just at the moment when negotiations are developing for disarmament and a nuclear

truce." But he named no names, and devoted the rest of his address largely to the need for U.N. intervention in the crisis. Since the United States had asked for such intervention, he concluded, "Italy naturally cannot fail to express her solidarity with the allied American nation."

Fanfani's excessive courtesy toward his Socialist partners shocked and embarrassed many leading Christian Democrats. "We have reached the point," said the former Christian Democratic cabinet minister Dino Del Bo, "where our principal ally feels that Cuba is a danger to her. Well then, we must be courageous enough to say that if, unhappily, the controversy between the United States and the Soviet Union should thus spread beyond the area covered by Atlantic guarantees, if the Washington government should ask for the solidarity of its allies, our country would have no choice but to follow the path of honor."

Fanfani's Dangerous Game

Though many Christian Democrats here have tried to forget the Cuban episode, they cannot so easily dismiss the one that came along barely three months later. On January 26, on his return from a visit to Washington, Fanfani announced to parliament that thirty Jupiter missiles stationed in southern Italy would be withdrawn as obsolete, to be replaced by Polaris submarines "not operating from Italian bases in the Mediterranean." The impression he gave was, first, that the Jupiter base in Puglia would be completely dismantled, and second, that a decision had been reached in Washington specifically excluding the use of Italian ports for Polaris submarines.

In effect, as the *Corriere della Sera* pointed out, the statement implied that Italy would be "relieved of any participation in the nuclear defense of NATO's southern zone," which is precisely how the Socialists interpreted it. The Socialist Party, said Riccardo Lombardi, took a "positive view" of any agreements which, like this one, "reduce and limit the risks for our country," and the Socialists' adviser on foreign affairs, Paolo Vittorelli, added that the move would "facilitate . . . a larger agreement for the denuclearization of Europe, possibly leaving the control of atomic arms solely to the Americans and the Soviet Union."

Actually, no decision at all was made about using Italian ports for Polaris submarines: the Pentagon had simply not asked for one. If it had asked for one (as it may at any

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time), Fanfani's consent would, or at least should, have been a matter of course, not only because Italian ports are already open to all NATO and American naval vessels but also because Fanfani himself had just agreed to a multilateral NATO force including Polaris submarines. Here again, the premier was evidently trying to ingratiate himself with his Socialist allies. But this time his success was dangerous as well as embarrassing for his coalition. Since the head of the Italian government has formally declared that Polaris submarines will not use Italian ports, the Socialists may hold him to his word, and that is clearly their intention. "There can be no basis for the rumor that Italy might cede a Polaris base to the Americans," Nenni told the chamber, "for our country has reached the limit of its commitments in the treaties to which it has subscribed, and no new commitments can be assumed without the approval of parliament."

TO BE SURE, the democratic parties might force this kind of issue through parliament over the Socialists' heads, with the help of the right-wing parties. But it would take a lot of fortitude, considering their present dependence on the Socialist Party; and so would any other act going beyond Nenni's admirably succinct definition of what the Socialists think Italy's foreign policy ought to be. According to that definition, the Italians may stand still or retreat but may not advance in carrying their military obligations to NATO. The Socialists' acceptance of the multilateral NATO atomic force may seem to contradict this but does not: they don't mind the multilateral force because it is plainly designed to block both the French and the British independent atomic deterrents, and because they assume, as nearly everyone else does, that Italy will play no more than a negligible part in the NATO atomic force.

Given the disarray caused by the maneuverings of the recent past, Italy badly needed a government with clear and clearly agreed-upon policies that could count on a stable majority in parliament. But the recent elections have made the emergence of such effective leadership more unlikely than ever.

AT HOME & ABROAD

What Price Conventional Capabilities in Europe?

BERNARD BRODIE

JUST AS the "massive retaliation" doctrine characterized the main thrust of the Eisenhower administration's defense policies, so that of the Kennedy administration has been marked by persistent emphasis on very nearly the opposite theme. That theme is briefly stated as follows: although we will not voluntarily relinquish the nuclear ascendancy now enjoyed by the United States, prudent anticipation of the coming nuclear stalemate requires us to return to conventional forces for the tactical defense even of Europe.

The United States has acknowledged that it is prepared to use nuclear weapons "if necessary" for the defense of Berlin and other NATO territories, but the conception behind that "if necessary" has been responsible also for heavy pressure upon our NATO allies to make a larger contribution to the conventional capabilities of the alliance.

The new American school of thought, which exists in several variants on the part of advocates both in and out of government, possesses no label comparable in pithiness to the Dulles "massive retaliation" tag; but we shall call it here the Conventional War in Europe philosophy (CWE).

The administration's authentic views on the subject of CWE have not been readily available to the public. There was some reference to them in Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's Ann Arbor speech of June 16, 1962, but a later and much better source is his book-length statement before the House Armed Services Committee on January 30, 1963. The relevant comments are characteristically lean, but their significance is clear.

After pointing out that ". . . we must continue to strengthen and modernize our tactical nuclear capabilities to deal with an attack where the opponent employs such weapons first, or any attack by conventional forces which puts Europe in danger of being overrun," Mr. McNamara

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went on to say: "But we must also substantially increase our non-nuclear capabilities to foreclose to our opponent the freedom of action he would otherwise have, or believe he would have, in lesser military provocations. We must be in position to confront him at any level of provocation with an appropriate military response. The decision to employ tactical nuclear weapons should not be forced upon us simply because we have no other way to cope with a particular situation."

These words are somewhat ambiguous concerning the maximum level of Soviet non-nuclear attack that Mr. McNamara would like to see us able to oppose successfully with non-nuclear means, but additional clarification is provided later in the statement. Under Section IV, on "General Purpose Forces," he added the following:

"Although we are still a long way from achieving the non-nuclear capabilities we hope to create in Europe, we are much better off in this regard than we were two years ago. Today the NATO forces can deal with a much greater range of Soviet actions, without resorting to the use of nuclear weapons. Certainly, they can deal with any major incursion or probe. But we must continue to do everything in our power to persuade our Allies to meet their NATO force goals so that we will possess alternative capabilities for dealing with even larger Soviet attacks. And until these capabilities are achieved, the defense of Europe against an all-out Soviet attack, even if such an attack were limited to non-nuclear means, would require the use of tactical nuclear weapons on our part."

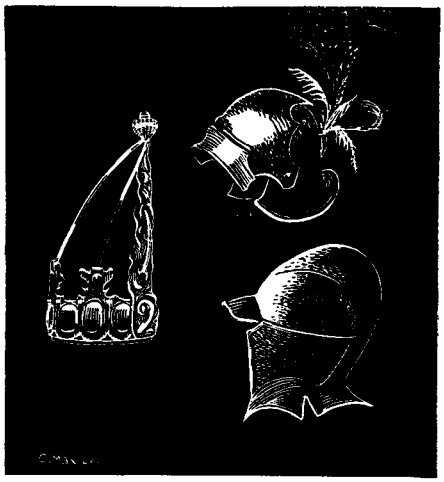
McNamara vs. the Allies

It is clear that Mr. McNamara would like to be able to meet even an "all-out" Soviet non-nuclear attack by non-nuclear means. Although in his opinion we already have the means for dealing conventionally "with any major incursion or probe," he feels that "we are still a long way from achieving the non-nuclear capabilities we hope to create in Europe." To achieve that end, he is willing "to do everything in our power to persuade our Allies" to make the required contributions.

However, on this issue as well as on several others, our major allies have for some time shown themselves markedly resistant to our persuasion. Following the French veto on Britain's admission to the Common Market, the NATO alliance has been in a state of shock. France's rejection of American leadership in military and other matters has been violent and extreme. In part it is because President de Gaulle does not like to be led, but it is also in part a reaction against specific U.S. policies. And however much the French behavior is regretted by our other allies, the latter are not about to respond with a larger conventional effort.

In trying to understand this attitude, one must first remember that the view our government is now advancing as the only reasonable one is the reverse of the idea that our leaders were preaching only a few years ago. It is also well known abroad that the new view is by no means accepted by the majority of senior American military officers, including the recently retired Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Lauris Norstad.

Though official American emphasis is on meeting goals already agreed on, our allies are aware of the fervor



behind the new concept in administration circles. It is the Germans especially who distrust the future implications of that peculiarly intense conviction—as though we had achieved a "breakthrough" in thought—and who distrust also so extraordinary a goal as having a capability for stopping by conventional means any non-nuclear attack that could be mounted even by the full field strength of the Communist bloc.

The concept is usually coupled with talk about "accidental war," that is, of Soviet miscalculations or acts of repression that would set off hostilities on a large scale but, hopefully, leave us short of the final abyss. No answer is given to the question of how much territory in Europe we should be ready to give up before deciding that we can no longer withhold nuclear weapons.

THE PURPOSES of achieving a very large conventional capability are generally given as follows:

¶ It should discourage the enemy from thinking that our unwillingness to be the first to use nuclear weapons, or to see nuclear general war visited upon the world, gives him opportunities to achieve limited but important victories by local non-nuclear aggression. He must not suppose that he can outbid us quickly and decisively in non-nuclear strength. Making it clear that he cannot will add materially to deterrence.

¶ If he nevertheless becomes involved through "miscalculation" in an attack on us and finds that, because of our resistance, he has applied most or all of his non-nuclear strength, he will have a chance to pause and reconsider what he is risking. If he then continues his aggression, the onus for bringing in nuclear weapons will be on him.

¶ It may be we who want to take the diplomatic and even military initiative, and it will make all the difference in our willingness to do so if we can make some meaningful move without nuclear weapons.

¶ There is also the conviction that at least by 1970 there will be no such thing as a meaningful superiority in strategic nuclear capabilities. Thus, the threat of strategic nuclear war as the ultimate backstop to a diplomatic position will be unavailable.

In any case the enemy is to receive the clearest warning that we will not accept a loss of territory or other comparable defeats. We remain committed to introducing nuclear weapons not only if the enemy does so but also if we find ourselves losing significantly. The aim of keeping war in Europe non-nuclear is considered terribly important, but

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nonetheless secondary to the aim of not losing.

We should distinguish this CWE philosophy from several other ideas which have become current of late and which I do not wish to challenge. At this date few persons professionally involved in defense doubt the need for some conventional forces for the contingencies of limited war such as might easily occur outside Europe and conceivably inside Europe as well. The spelling out of the specific requirements is difficult and controversial, but on the point of principle there is not much argument.

We should also distinguish various current doctrines of discriminate or controlled general war, especially that which not only stresses counterforce targets but which adds special and positive emphasis to sparing cities. Avoidance of city bombing, except in direct reprisal, probably has sufficient justification, apart from other obvious interests, in the elementary and familiar proposition that enemy cities have far more strategic signifiance as hostages than as ruins.

It is also true and important that our allies have made promises to NATO which they have not met and which, until the pertinent agreements are changed, we are justified in pressing them to fulfill. Although the commitments to these force levels were made under the explicit assumption that any outbreak of war in Europe between the Soviet bloc and the West would be almost immediately nuclear, there is no need to deprive available forces of all capability for fighting with conventional weapons.

What we shall be questioning, at least by implication, is, first, the image of the world reflected in the fervor and the zeal—and the excessive goals—behind what is up to a point a reasonable idea, and second, the evident impatience with the misgivings and contrary ideas of allies whose views are habitually dismissed on the ground that they just don't understand the basic facts of nuclear life.

The Knight and the Men-at-Arms

CWE advocates feel, with some justice, that the United States is carrying a disproportionate share of the NATO defense burden. They argue also that American contributions to nuclear capabilities in a general war are more than adequate and should not be duplicated. They usually consider tactical nuclear capabilities in Europe dangerous and illusory. Therefore, according to them, obligations to the common defense by our European and Canadian allies can only and should only take the form of providing greater conventional capabilities.

This idea is hard to put across in Europe. The situation naturally varies from country to country. The smaller NATO nations seem quite content to go along with our views, but they also feel, as small countries have always felt, that what they can contribute is not going to make a critical difference in NATO strength anyway, so why exert themselves unduly? The British and French governments have different ideas from ours about the value to them of independent nuclear capabilities. The French especially have long been determined to go ahead with their program regardless of American objections—partly, perhaps, because they know the United States cannot withhold from France the protective covering accorded Europe, but mostly because they are bent on rejecting the status of a satellite.

The British seem to be less concerned about nuclear dependence on the United States, and among the many who have professed willingness to give up the independent nuclear deterrent is the new leader of the Labour Party, Harold Wilson. However, we should remember that many Britons who take that position do so for reasons that are not necessarily reassuring to the government of the United States. In Britain rejection of the nuclear deterrent often goes with neutralism, and certainly not often with any desire to see the reintroduction of conscription, without which Britain is not going to increase materially its contribution to conventional capabilities in Europe. The Germans, who are not yet avowedly nourishing aspirations to an independent nuclear capability, are nevertheless deeply alarmed by American emphasis on conventional-war strategies.

ALL these people share the view that we Americans have simply availed ourselves of our great wealth to build up the forces we thought necessary to our own defense. A good part of our defense budget has been absorbed by a large strategic nuclear capability that we have insisted on maintaining exclusively under our own national control, despite recent token gestures to the contrary. In providing protection for ourselves, we have created what in large measure protects also our European allies. They have not hitherto been asked to share the financial cost of the force that protects us all—though they have provided bases and thus shouldered some risks. It is a mistake to assume that we can now induce them to compensate us by raising additional forces which they feel they do not need and which in the French case would be at the expense of forces they insist on having.

Thus, appeals to our NATO allies to increase their military effort must be based on something more objective than the fact that we have shifted to a new strategic philosophy, especially one that must appear to them to cost more and at the same time diminish deterrence. Our insistence that it will increase deterrence is based on premises and assumptions which may be valid under some circumstances but which are certainly not unchallengeable. Our assumption that the new philosophy would demonstrate its superior merits *if* war breaks out will be weighed against the European presumption, however debatable, that the resulting stance could make it *easier* for war to break out—by appearing to

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push our nuclear strength into the background. Besides, our allies are deeply suspicious of alleged American efforts to get them to provide the "men-at-arms for the American nuclear knight"—to quote one German formulation for a thought that gets served up repeatedly in different verbal flavorings. In any case, their readiness to accept unquestioningly American tutelage in military and strategic matters is considerably less today than it was five or ten years ago.

Cost and Effect

Those CWE advocates who urge that we should put ourselves in a position to be able to stem at least for a time a full-scale non-nuclear attack by the Soviet forces have in general advanced a startlingly modest view of the extra effort required.

Present promises to NATO would, if fulfilled, raise existing strength on the Central Front from something like twenty-four divisions to something like thirty. NATO may yet conceivably get those thirty divisions, but they are not likely to be well-equipped and full-strength divisions with adequate logistic backing. Thus, the first margin of extra effort is the difference between twenty-four lean divisions and thirty fat ones, and fat in the weaponry of conventional war.

Whatever serious studies have been made of requirements for any type of war, nuclear or non-nuclear, are naturally highly classified, but one well-informed CWE advocate offered me the probably optimistic offhand guess that the essential goals to be achieved for providing an "adequate" conventional force in Europe would require of our NATO allies about one per cent more of their respective Gross National Products than they are now contributing. And, after all, those GNPs are steadily rising.

Now, economists are accustomed to reckoning in percentages of GNP, but politicians are not. The latter think in terms of increases in existing budgets, and for a country already contributing say five per cent of its GNP to defense—which is not trivial by historical peacetime standards, and the larger allies contribute more—an increase of one per cent of GNP has more meaning as a twenty per cent increase in the defense budget.

There is another point to be considered. If estimates of Soviet ground forces have been exaggerated, it is clearly desirable to cut them down to proper size. Obviously, we want to evaluate *any* forces correctly, whether they be enemy or allied. In pointing out inherent enemy weaknesses, however, we should be careful not to gloss over our own; for example, the inherent weakness of having a force structure stemming from fifteen different nations, with an allocation of commands designed as much to accomplish political as military ends. Whatever the number of divisions available to NATO, their effectiveness must surely fall short, perhaps markedly, of being comparable to a good single-nation army having the same number of divisions.

Anyway, the substantial reduction in Russian ground forces between 1955 and 1961 was a somewhat tardy adjustment to what the Soviets considered the requirements of the nuclear age (as well as, let us add, the absence of any strong urge to conquer a nuclearly defended Western Europe). They stopped further planned cuts in 1961, apparently in response to our build-up. Experience since then suggests their readiness to move up with us to maintain their relative advantage in ground forces in Europe. Their reasons for doing so may or may not be very sophisticated, but it is the one kind of tangible superiority they feel able to maintain.

Which Is the Real Enemy?

As Sir Winston Churchill once wrote, concerning the planning for a particularly ill-starred offensive: "However absorbed a commander may be in the elaboration of his own thoughts, it is necessary sometimes to take the enemy into consideration." In the spinning of military theories, it is really remarkable how seldom that is done. In the present case the "enemy" should be considered under both of two guises. First, there is the shrewd opponent familiar in war-gaming rooms, blessed with a free-ranging imagination and showing no biases other than those we share with him. He is shrewd, skillful, and aggressive; he has to be, or one cannot have a challenging and interesting game. The other is the real Soviet opponent, with whom we have had prolonged experience which is available for study but which only a few people do in fact study. He is the opponent who we know has very special ways of looking at things—in other words, who has strong biases, some of which are fundamentally different from ours. This is the opponent who not infrequently blunders but who always shows a deep respect for our strength.

Concerning the CWE school's argument that the enemy will be more deterred by a strong conventional force than he would by a somewhat lesser force committed to using nuclear weapons at a relatively early stage: this can only be the war-game opponent. Certainly the argument requires some quite singular assumptions. One is that the Soviets will boldly make large forays against our nuclear power with non-nuclear arms. According to this line of reasoning, the determination of ourselves and our allies to resist clear aggression will collapse if there is any hint that tactical nuclear weapons may have to be used, and the Russians will know it. In fact, they will be so confident of our restraint that they will take what would otherwise be the most monumental risks! Actually, the question of "credibility" so effectively raised against the Dulles massive-retaliation doctrine hardly applies in Europe—and we are not talking massive retaliation anyway, but tactical nuclear defense. It would probably take much persuasion on our part to shake the Soviet leaders from their apparent conviction that in the event of a substantial attack by them the nuclear weapons available to NATO forces in Europe would quickly be used. Why should we attempt to shake that conviction?

ANOTHER critical and dubious assumption is that the enemy will almost certainly refrain from using nuclear weapons if we refrain. Presumably it is "in his interest" to play the game that way—to make war locally but not to risk general war. But there is overwhelming evi-

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dence that he fears that *any* war in Europe is in great danger of escalating to general war, and that he rejects the notion that the introduction of nuclear weapons tactically makes all the difference.

Soviet military thinking continues to reject those refinements of military thought that have now become commonplace in this country—concerning, for example, distinctions between limited war and general war, between "controlled" and "uncontrolled" strategic targeting, and between nuclear and non-nuclear tactical operations. The kinds of civilian specialists who have given rise to most of the relevant ideas in this country do not even exist in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet manual of strategy written under the direction of former Chief of Staff Marshal V. Sokolovsky expresses scorn for the "modern school of American economists who consider that it is possible to juggle with nuclear warfare."

Perhaps the Soviet leaders are staging all this for our benefit, or perhaps they believe it now but will ultimately follow our lead. After all, the prospect of fighting a great land battle in Europe without nuclear weapons looked utterly bizarre to practically all Americans only a short time ago. However, the change in view in this country does not represent a mass conversion of the American defense community but rather the rise to political ascendancy of a minority view. The leading members of this minority have had close contact with and have thus exerted great influence upon each other. Can we achieve comparable communications with a similar (ascendant) minority in the Soviet Union?

Whether or not the logic is intrinsically sound, it obviously does not overwhelm all informed men in this country who are exposed to it. Is it bound to in time? Various factors are operating powerfully in the opposite direction, including the proliferation of all kinds of nuclear weapons with special uses, in all of which uses the nuclear tools show vastly higher efficiencies than their non-nuclear counterparts. Even the little Davy Crockett makes *large* conventional artillery forces not merely unnecessary but rather a joke, and it is difficult to live for a long time with an expensive joke.

What of Accidental War?

Clearly the proposed strategy offers no inducement to the Russians to stay non-nuclear in an all-out premeditated attack with their ground forces. Proponents of the CWE philosophy repeatedly assert that we will not allow ourselves to be beaten. Since in tactical operations with nuclear weapons first use is extremely important—for example, by accomplishing the quick destruction of the opponent's supporting air forces—our determination to introduce such weapons rather than accept defeat tells the enemy, if he believes us, that *he* must introduce them. It is one thing to propose an armaments restraint to which we promise to adhere, come what may, so long as the opponent does too; it is quite another to offer such restraint with the proviso that we will abandon it as soon as it clearly seems to interfere with the serious business of winning.

We are bemused, however, with the possibility of "accidental war." We feel that a conventional defense gives the opponent who lets himself slip into hostilities with us a chance to think it over. This is the concept of the "pause" for reassessment, which will enable the opponent (never ourselves, naturally) to remember the virtues of discretion. Anyway, if the enemy continues his

aggression, he will proceed with it in a way calculated to win. If he refrains, it will be less our local conventional forces than our nuclear forces, strategic and tactical, that have obliged him to do so. That is exactly where we stand now and where we have stood since the beginning of NATO. What, then, will we have gained by a large conventional build-up?

The idea that the entire Russian field army could become involved in non-nuclear conflict as a result of an "accidental" outbreak of local violence is perhaps worth a place in the list of contingencies that a planner wishes to think about. But that we should consider the possibility strong enough to let it set a goal for our conventional build-up is fantastic. Anything that could properly be called "accidental war" has been extremely rare historically. What should make it more common in a nuclear age? The technical possibilities for nuclear accident are vastly outweighed by the enormous reluctance of national leaders, certainly including the Russians, to risk a war that might become nuclear.

A frequently cited scenario of accidental war has the Soviet troops putting down a major revolt in East Germany, which provokes West German troops to intervene. This implies, among other things, an ardor for intervention on the part of West German forces and a general lack of discipline all round that have yet to be demonstrated. Is the event conceivable? Of course! So are many other scenarios that follow quite different patterns. To say that something is conceivable may or may not mean that it is worth a second thought; it is hardly enough to establish that it warrants a basic shift in our strategic philosophy. In any case, why should our capacity to support an intervention, if we so desire, hinge upon our ability to fight a *large-scale* non-nuclear war? The raising of the initial level of violence is at least as much the enemy's option as ours, and it is hardly desirable to try to eliminate a consideration of our nuclear power from his reflections.

No doubt under some circumstances the Russians could not be made to feel the real determination behind our warning until they had done something to stir us to action. Something of that kind happened in Cuba. Probably too there is less chance that the demonstration will get out of control if nuclear weapons are meanwhile avoided. The idea of the "pause" is not al-

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What's going on at Republic Aviation?

Apollo Space Suit life-support studies; a Mach 2/VTOL/variable-geometry aircraft design; fluid-power systems for a supersonic transport; 77 parts for NASA's Saturn; studies for the Synchronous Meteorological Satellite; re-entry capsules for NASA's Project Fire; the F-105D and F-105F (two-place) Mach 2 fighter-bombers; guidance for the Bullpup missile; training simulators and control systems for submarines; studies for the Advanced Orbiting Solar Observatory; electronic ground support equipment; the Bikini Photo Drone; the magnetic-induction nuclear gyro... and too many other aerospace and hydrospace projects to include.

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And who's doing it?

Eighteen thousand people, including weapon system analysts, mathematicians, oceanographers, nuclear physicists, biochemists, radiobiologists, physicians, metallurgists, microbiologists, plasma physicists, astronomers, astrophysicists, psychologists, physiologists, astrobiologists . . . and chemical, cryogenics, communications, radar, guidance, orbital mechanics, human-factors, propulsion, acoustics, design criteria, reliability, hydraulic, flight dynamics, structural, applied mechanics, nuclear, computer, hydrodynamic, thermodynamic and aerodynamic engineers.
Republic Aviation Corp., Farmingdale, L.I., N.Y.

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together absurd. However, there is no good reason why the time for the pause should come when thirty divisions are involved rather than three, or even one. The risks may be smaller by choosing the lower threshold, because the discriminate use of small nuclear weapons can also be a powerful earnest of determination—which can have its effect *before* the opponent makes his commitment to a large-scale attack.

I see no basis in experience or logic for assuming that the increase in level of violence from one division to thirty is a less shocking and less dangerous form of escalation than the introduction of any kind of nuclear weapons. A galloping consensus has developed among some like-minded people around the entirely unfounded assumption that it is not size of conflict but use of nuclear weapons that would make all the difference. Our justified concern with the special emotions as well as the physical destruction provoked by the use of nuclear weapons has caused an unjustified depreciation of what it means to start fighting. Khrushchev indicated quite clearly last fall that where he wanted violence between the United States and the Soviet Union to stop was *before* one of our destroyers had fired a shot across the bows of a Soviet transport ship.

In view of the lessons we must draw from the Cuban crisis of 1962 concerning our position in Berlin, it is a mischievous interpretation to hold that the outcome was determined *mostly* by our local conventional superiority. If local superiority in conventional arms made all the difference, why did not Khrushchev make some face-saving retaliation in places where he was superior, as in Berlin? Many indeed predicted that he would. On the contrary, Khrushchev and Ulbricht began, on top of the abject surrender in Cuba, to be sweetly reasonable over Berlin. The significance of this seems to have been completely missed by most observers, who apparently accepted it simply as a bonus. And when the Chinese Communists castigated Khrushchev for retreating from a "paper tiger," his public reply was, "The paper tiger has nuclear teeth."

Surely all can agree that the Cuban episode demonstrated the great aversion of the present Soviet leaders to *any* direct hostilities with the United States. It indicated strongly that they fear even small

outbreaks of violence between them and us, no doubt because they consider such outbreaks too likely to proceed rapidly to nuclear war. What surprised and sobered Khrushchev was our readiness to confront him. Our previous behavior had apparently led him to believe we would tolerate his installing the missiles; when he found that we were not that tolerant, he rushed to get them out—apparently unimpeded with any worries about "humiliation."

Another Second World War?

Still another assumption of the CWE school is that having greater conventional strength would permit us occasionally to take the diplomatic and military initiative where we would not dare do so if we had only nuclear weapons to work with. In the same speech at West Point on December 5, 1962, that embroiled him with the British, Dean Acheson offered the following view on "a sound plan for military defense":

"A military plan and policy which would deprive the Soviet Union of conventional superiority on its front with Western Europe requires increased production by all the allied countries, including ourselves. Such economic and military developments, should they occur, would give reality to such political policies as the reunification of Germany and more independent national lives for the East European countries. Finally, all these developments could bring such stability and balance in the relations between the Soviet Union and the Western allies that the control of armaments, including nuclear armaments, would become possible and practicable."

Later in the speech he said:

"Soviet domination of East Germany is largely based on the preponderance of Soviet conventional power on their western front. If this did not exist, Soviet intervention to support Ulbricht's authority might become increasingly impracticable."

One remembers in the 1952 elections the Republican talk of "rollback," which only matched Acheson's earlier slogan about our need to build up our forces in order to be able to "negotiate from strength." No doubt we needed to build up our forces, but the fallacy in Acheson's slogan was the implication that he had an aggressive policy which only a lack of military support prevented him from implementing. What in fact he lacked, and what the build-up itself could not provide, was the kind of aggressive policy implied by his West Point remarks—which incidentally is to result in mutual arms control!

Since the end of the Second World War we have at no time taken or *seriously contemplated* any kind of military initiative that was not prompted by some external military aggression by the opponent. Concerning the uprisings in East Germany and in Hungary and the building of the Berlin Wall we did nothing, and our reasons could hardly have hinged on a shortage of conventional forces. In Korea we responded to a direct aggression against a protégé, and in Cuba we responded to a gambit aimed directly at ourselves.

There are many reasons why we are not more given to initiating crises where a clash of arms might be involved, but surely one is the same that caused Khrushchev to surrender in Cuba: violence between great opponents is inherently difficult to control, and it cannot be controlled unilaterally. We therefore save confrontations for the opponent's aggressions.

The most important ingredient in deterring Soviet aggression in Europe is our known readiness to oppose it. For support of this policy, our force structure has been in no important respect inappropriate. Stout hearts and a sense of Soviet methods have been and will surely

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continue to be more necessary than a conventional build-up.

But if war in Europe, however improbable, nevertheless does break out, what then? A future condition of stable mutual strategic deterrence (i.e., where each side deems the second-strike retaliatory capability of the other to be extremely formidable) would no doubt inhibit escalation from a limited war to a general war. But surely such a barrier against general war will not act also to prevent the use of tactical nuclear weapons in limited war. It should have exactly the opposite effect.

It is probable that the tactical use of nuclear weapons would increase the dangerousness of limited war. But who today considers any hostilities directly between the superpowers not to be anything but terribly dangerous? Who will take the first step toward war if he is so appalled at the thought of the second step, which is use of nuclear weapons? At any rate, there seems to be no empirical reason for the belief that use or non-use of tactical nuclear weapons will make all the difference between what some seem to regard as a rather safe and sane use of large-scale violence and what would be an unutterably disastrous eruption.

There are other considerations. The Germans know that not much territory can be yielded before they have yielded all of theirs. The French have pointed to our CWE philosophy as evidence, among other things, of the beginning of American withdrawal from the commitment to defend Europe even at the risk of total nuclear war. To them it confirms their foresight in aspiring for a national *force de frappe*. However wrong that deduction may be, we have needlessly given them much leverage for making it.

When charged that their philosophy looks toward making a new war in Europe resemble the Second World War, CWE advocates answer that it would be a lot better for Europeans than a tactical nuclear war—the implication being that they should jump at the chance. But most Europeans have a different way of looking at the present choice of alternatives. To contribute more men and money in order to make it possible to enjoy another Second World War strikes them, at the very least, as too much relinquishment of the nuclear deterrent. They are abundantly convinced that our staunchness and readiness to use the kind of force we already have in Europe is quite enough to keep the Russians at bay. They seem to hold the same to be true of keeping our position in West Berlin—which makes them willing to follow our lead, though we should be clear that for our non-German allies Berlin is not the best issue for inspiring them to greater sacrifice.

The Europeans, in short, want to settle for deterrence on the tactical level as well as the strategic. It is not true that they eagerly accept tactical nuclear weapons out of ignorance of the terrible implications of their use. They accept them in the same way and for the same reasons that Americans accept nuclear strategic deterrence. In fact, deterrence on the tactical level means for them exactly what deterrence on the strategic level means for us.

THE MORE sophisticated CWE advocates have argued that tactical nuclear war in Europe would be not only terribly destructive but also militarily infeasible, because troops simply could not live in a battle environment where nuclear weapons were liberally employed. The charge

of greater destructiveness would depend on the stage of violence reached, and it is far from obvious that use of a few nuclear weapons—to demonstrate readiness to use more—will force the level of violence upward rather than down.

In any case, finding tactical nuclear operations infeasible does not make large-scale conventional war in Europe feasible. Where nuclear weapons are on stand-by availability to both sides, conventional war must proceed in an extraordinarily precarious environment. Besides, if one's own armies cannot live in a nuclear environment, the chances are that neither can the enemy's. A war is not fought in order to provide a suitable battle environment for troops.

The real issues are much more political than technical. Our experience with the Russians, crowned by the Cuban episode of last October, tells us that the Soviet opponent is not ten feet tall in the moral intangibles of power—as he would have to be to do some of the bold things he does in war games. Even in the Berlin "blockade" of 1948-1949, when we failed altogether to test the Soviets' resolve to deny us access on the ground, they did not attempt to interfere with our airlift, as they could easily have done simply by jamming our Ground Controlled Approach radar system. Why should we go on postulating a kind of behavior that is radically different from what they have demonstrated over a long time? After all, the Soviet leaders have now openly broken with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of inevitable war, avowedly on the ground that nuclear weapons do matter.

Those weapons have vastly affected the expectation of major war in Europe, and it is absurd not to make the most of that change. It is illogical to propose that the NATO powers should add substantially to their defense burdens in order to exploit a probably slim chance for moderating a possible future European war—which, however, the present dispositions make highly improbable.

It is one thing to exhort our allies to see that their contributions of forces maintain reasonable standards of efficiency, which certainly ought not to exclude a capability for limited conventional operations. It is quite another to invoke fantasies of great modern armies locked in desperate combat in Europe with never a nuclear warhead going off between them. The one attitude invites credit for our political sense as well as for our strategic thinking; the other merely discredits us in both respects.

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Hoffa Wins Again

TOM BROOKS

In a Philadelphia National Labor Relations Board representation election, James Riddle Hoffa has repulsed the first, and possibly the last, assault on a citadel of his powerful 1.4-million-member Teamsters Union. During six years of exile from the AFL-CIO, the union has lost a few locals here and there—the taxi drivers in Chicago, St. Louis, and some other cities have gone over to the Seafarers International Union, and the Cincinnati milk drivers now have an AFL-CIO federal charter. But Philadelphia presented Hoffa with his first major challenge from a rebel group of over-the-road and city cartage drivers, the men who are the heart and sinews of the truckers' union. Over a four-day election period, from April 25 to 28, some 8,400 Philadelphia drivers were given the choice of remaining with the Teamsters or joining an organization called the Voice—which would bring them into the AFL-CIO. The Philadelphia drivers voted 4,893 to 2,550 to remain with the Teamsters.

The election seemed to present the AFL-CIO with an opportunity to "take" Hoffa on his own grounds. The Voice group represented the largest potential Teamsters defection in six years. A majority of the drivers and helpers involved are members of Local 107, the fourth largest Teamsters local in the country. (The rest belong to three other small locals outside Philadelphia, covered by the same contract.) The rebel group started with the desire for reform within Local 107. Back in 1961, Hoffa promised—and was obligated by the 1959 amendments to the nation's labor laws to deliver—a democratic convention. Several Local 107 members, including a popular young driver, Charlie Myers, decided to buck the official slate for convention delegates drawn up by Raymond J. Cohen, the Teamsters' Philadelphia palatine. Cohen, secretary-treasurer of Local 107, first won national notoriety by pleading the Fifth Amendment ninety-seven times before the McClellan Committee in answer to questions about $491,000 in union funds. He is currently on trial along with five other Local 107 officials for a conspiracy to defraud the union of $250,000. The rebels lost in 1961 but won enough votes to keep on trying.

Discouraged by what they considered "rigged" local elections, the Voice group began to look for a way out as well as a possible return to the AFL-CIO. The expiration last year of the Teamsters' Philadelphia contract with the Motor Transportation Labor Relations, Inc., representing three hundred companies, provided the opportunity for a representation election challenge of Cohen's rule.

Stilling the Small Voice

Few inside or outside the Teamsters took this challenge seriously. Hoffa put in a routine pre-election appearance, leaving the show to Cohen. But Cohen underestimated the beefs against his administration and overreached himself by a too free use of "muscle." Voice adherents were roughed up; several cars were set on fire. The Philadelphia truck drivers turned out at the NLRB polls to give the Voice forty-six per cent of the 7,163 votes counted. The violent conduct of Cohen's supporters enabled the Voice group to petition the NLRB for a new election. Contract talks were barred pending its outcome.

This brought Hoffa to town. "I did not want to come here and get into this fight," he said. "But when I saw it slipping away, I decided it was time to come into Philadelphia." Actually, though in an oblique fashion, the Voice rebels gave Hoffa the excuse he wanted to elbow Cohen out of negotiations with Philadelphia's chief trucking concerns. Cohen has been one of the few Teamsters holdouts against Hoffa's drive to get all trucking firms under a nationwide master agreement. Yet though Cohen clearly botched the first election and was also a liability to Hoffa in other ways, the Philadelphian could not be openly dumped. Hoffa, in a sense, was boxed in by his obligations to the Cohens of the Teamsters and his image as a guy who won't turn on old friends in trouble.

So Hoffa stepped out in front for the April election as Cohen faded discreetly into the background. Cohen was demoted from his business managership and his salary was cut from $40,000 to $21,000 a year. Thus Hoffa was able to pose as a reformer without actually getting rid of his Philadelphia henchman, who continued as secretary-treasurer. "Cohen will be all right," Hoffa declared; "he just needed a little straightening out." Although Hoffa abjured violence, he put on pressure by threatening a boycott of Philadelphia trucking. "Break-bulk points," he declared in mid-campaign, "can be established outside Philadelphia and trucks can be loaded and run into town and then turn around and leave." Along with this threat, he pointedly said that Philadelphia drivers would have to join out-of-town locals to get work if the Voice won the election. Hoffa's basic pitch, however, was simply the claim that he could negotiate a better agreement for the truck drivers than the Voice, with or without AFL-CIO help.

This finally tipped the scales for Hoffa. In the end, the election became one of those occasions—so familiar when the AFL and the CIO were rivals—for shopping on the part of workers for the best deal available. The rising bids for allegiance were evaluated against possible performance, with the decision going to the side thought best able to deliver. In Philadelphia, Hoffa put his reputation on the line and the truckers came to believe him.

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The AFL-CIO put very little on the line. A few unions contributed money and organizers and president George Meany made an election-eve statement pledging the Federation's support in negotiations to the Voice group. But it was difficult to avoid the feeling that the defection of Teamsters on a potentially large scale seemed to embarrass Federation officials. Had the AFL-CIO leadership pitched in, saying, "If we win in Philadelphia, we'll go all the way to get rid of Hoffa and bring the Teamsters back," it might have been different. As it was, truckers who wanted to return to the AFL-CIO figured its lukewarm support of the Voice reflected the kind of welcome they might expect from the Federation.

"FRANKLY," Hoffa confided exuberantly after the election results were in, "we got a greater percentage than I anticipated." In between bits of clowning for TV and press cameramen that failed to rumple either his sharply creased dark blue suit or freshly laundered blue shirt, Hoffa invited the rebels back. He also let it be known that he saw the election results "just as much a Cohen victory as a Hoffa victory." Somewhat cryptically, he added, "If Cohen goes out in the street to carry out my promises, all his problems will disappear."

A few blocks away a tired bunch of Voice adherents drew what consolation they could from Hoffa's concessions. Shop stewards will now be elected, instead of appointed. Charlie Myers declared before a much smaller group of newsmen, "We'll continue in the Teamsters but will still fight against the type of leadership that is in the Teamsters Union." Later, another Voice leader tried to look for the silver lining. "If Hoffa delivers on fifty per cent of his promises," he said, "this can be a model union for a clean-up within the Teamsters."

Nobody denied the obvious: the election was a tremendous personal victory for James Riddle Hoffa. It may have some unexpected repercussions within his union if other Teamsters draw the lesson that the way to improve their lot is to raise enough Cain with their local leadership so as to draw Jimmy in.

Splitsville, U.S.A.

An ironic tale of urban renewal and racial segregation

ELINOR RICHEY

CHICAGO

JAMES BALDWIN has observed that whenever trouble breaks out in Harlem, the city installs a new playground. In Chicago's Negro ghetto, they conduct a study.

Characteristically, official studies on the Negro in Chicago pretend to discover and register indignation about the condition that prompted them. Two recent studies, however—private ones financed by the Ford Foundation and the Urban League—have probed their special problems of housing and school segregation deeply enough for measurement. The surveys revealed that these two forms of racial segregation have increased in Chicago since the Supreme Court desegregation directives of 1948 and 1954. The school study, covering the years 1958 to 1962, found that segregation had increased from eighty-eight per cent to ninety-two per cent over that period. The housing study shows that residential segregation rose from 92.1 to 93 per cent in the decade between 1950 and 1960. Not only did the trend offset the Supreme Court decisions but it paralleled Chicago's mammoth "nondiscriminatory" housing program—a fact that puts into question the effectiveness of President Kennedy's order banning discrimination in Federally assisted housing.

These discouraging statistics surprised many. Not that anyone believed much progress was being made toward integration in Chicago, but the nation's largest racial ghetto has seemed sealed off from change of any kind. Federal Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver has called the huge Negro sector extending from the Loop to the Indiana line "the most segregated area in the industrial North." The U.S. Civil Rights Commission has termed Chicago "the most segregated city of more than 500,000 population." Negroes call it simply "Splitsville." Boundary lines expand but never crack. Chicago's Negro ghetto has been as carefully preserved as the Chicago Water Tower—and every Chicago real-estate man knows how.

The Co-operative Spirit

Splitsville is a product of the Chicago Real Estate Board's "rule of segregation," as strictly enforced today as when laid down 1917. The rule decreed: "Each block shall be filled solidly [with Negroes] and further expansion shall be confined to contiguous blocks," and this shall be done "just as slowly as possible." When it drafted the rule, the board called for "active co-operation from all civic bodies," and in the forty-six years since, Chicago's co-operation has never wavered. Co-operation has flowed abundantly from the city council, the police, lending institutions, newspapers, churches, and from white citizens. The latter have co-operated by bombing or burning the homes of nonconformists. In the early years of the rule a house was wrecked on an average of every twenty days; nowadays, thanks to mellowed tradition, this measure is necessary only two or three times a year.

Citizens formerly co-operated also by inserting clauses into their property deeds forbidding resale or lease to Negroes. By the Second World War, restrictive covenants "protected" eighty per cent of white residential property, virtually walling up the Negro sector. Consequently a huge wartime immigration into the sector piled up a population density several times that of white residential areas. When the Supreme Court, in 1948, declared racially restrictive covenants unenforceable, Chicago Negroes hailed their liberation from the ghetto. But they underestimated the rule. The court decision's sole effect was to set the ghetto expanding again—moving contiguously, moving slowly.

Today what little residential integration there is in Chicago—now

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25.6 per cent Negro—exists almost exclusively along the ghetto border, and most of it in blocks undergoing transition from white to Negro. Two remarkable exceptions are the fringe neighborhoods of central Kenwood, a district of older homes, and Lake Meadows, a new private apartment development, both of which are stabilized in an almost even racial balance. Elsewhere along the ghetto border, residential integration has declined markedly. Whereas in 1950 eighty-nine per cent of Chicago Negroes lived in predominantly Negro districts, in 1960 the figure had risen to ninety-five per cent. Since a third of the privileged five per cent lived in central Kenwood and Lake Meadows, integration along the ghetto borders must have been subjected to some powerful deterrent.

THIS DETERRENT is no mystery to those who have perceived the effect of urban renewal on the Chicago Negro—the actual effect, as opposed to the official publicized effect. Chicago currently has thirty-three urban renewal projects going, but only one is far enough along to evaluate. It is located in the University of Chicago neighborhood of Hyde Park. The official Hyde Park success story is a Chicago legend. Through citizen planning and participation, the publicity goes, Hyde Park was cleared of slums and rebuilt into a "model community" of gleaming town houses, apartments, and shopping centers, in whose wall-to-wall efficiency Negroes and whites share equally and amicably. The Chicago *American* hails it as a "monument to planning."

Part of the legend is true. Hyde Park began to run down in the 1940's, and by 1950 the Negro ghetto extended over about a third of the neighborhood, with a mixed area separating white and Negro sectors. Housing clearance got under way in the early 1950's, and grew into a community-wide urban renewal program after a 1954 Federal act extended renewal assistance to commercial districts and to housing rehabilitation. One requirement for obtaining Federal urban renewal funds is that plans have "full-fledged community-wide citizens participation and support." The Hyde Park renewal plan was drawn up by a professional planner hired by the University of Chicago with a grant from the Field Foundation. The plan was underwritten with public clearance funds totaling $37.7 million ($28.5 million Federal, the rest city). Before the plan was submitted to the Chicago city council for approval, community representatives were called in to inspect it. Though the planner refused to make any basic changes or reduce the amount of clearance, he was able to talk many critics into seeing things his way.

But not all were persuaded. Monsignor John Egan, representing the Roman Catholic archdiocese, and spokesmen for the Hyde Park Tenant and Homeowners Association flatly condemned the plan. The priority task, as the association saw it, was to relieve the pressing housing needs of low-income families, especially Negroes, thousands of whom had been pushed into the Hyde Park area after being evicted by a large private development. It would be unjust, many felt, to evict twenty thousand low-income citizens and replace their homes with one-third as much housing designed for upper-middle-income tenancy. Ninety per cent of the housing marked for clearance was of brick construction, Monsignor Egan pointed out—better than the tenants could find elsewhere.

Defenders of the plan retorted that eighty per cent of existing housing would be left intact, that only deteriorated structures would be razed, and that this step was imperative if the white exodus from the neighborhood was to be halted. With blight banished, middle-class citizens would be attracted back from suburbia. Julian Levi of the University of Chicago-sponsored South East Chicago Commission argued: "The University needs a compatible neighborhood, one that will permit it to do its basic job in scholarship and research . . . You must view the project in terms of land use. Urban redevelopment is not an exercise in sociology."

The plan was approved. The city council did recommend, however, as a concession, that 120 units of public housing be included in the project, and directed that all housing constructed on clearance sites be offered on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. Since Hyde Park was the first urban renewal program professing to be interracial, it got national publicity as a "pilot project."

While Negro approval of the project was not required, the nondiscriminatory claim won it. James Baldwin has written of the Negro's "wise desire not to be betrayed by too much hoping." But Chicago Negroes, disappointed by the lack of results of the covenant decision, did turn hopefully toward the promises of urban renewal and believed that in time the trials of relocation would bring better housing opportunities.

No Bronze Phoenix

No sooner had rubble dust begun flying than the Negro community grew alarmed. While eighty per cent of the housing in all Hyde Park was indeed untouched, approximately twenty thousand of Hyde Park's population of seventy thousand were evicted in the clearance of entire blocks in West Hyde Park, and fourteen thousand of those moved were Negroes. Negroes were being evicted wholesale, cried the Negro press; forced-sale properties were undervaluated; relocation assistance was inadequate; available housing was less good and more expensive. Moreover, color seemed to be the prime target of the wrecking balls. Solid Negro blocks were getting a clean sweep, while integrated blocks underwent spot clearance of property that nearly always was Negro-occupied. The Urban League charged that eight out of ten of those relo-

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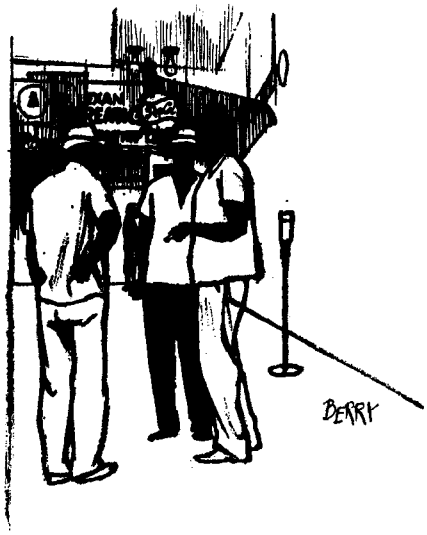
cated were Negro, and that the pile-up in the already overcrowded ghetto was "breeding more slums and worse slums" and causing "further concentration, enlargement and institutionalization of segregation." Negroes began to say that urban renewal was really Negro removal and a process of chasing slums around.

Such discontent deserved study. A University of Chicago sociology team investigated Chicago rental opportunities and found that twice as many Negroes as whites lived in substandard housing, but because of acute demand Negroes paid $15 more a month for theirs—in effect, a color tax. This economic hardship (Negro income averages thirty per cent lower than white) caused families to double up, overburdening facilities and services and thereby generating slum conditions.

ONE GHETTO neighborhood where relocated Negroes were being concentrated was Woodlawn, which borders Hyde Park on the south. Built to accommodate twenty-five thousand residents, Woodlawn by 1960 bulged with eighty-two thousand, many disgruntled at having been evicted by clearance several times. When the white press began calling Woodlawn "blight-ridden" and "vice-infected" and delegations began prying around with note pads, Negroes smelled another Negro removal project brewing. Convinced that population squeezing had reached the limit, Woodlawn's Protestant and Catholic clergy pooled a fund and, in 1960, hired a professional organizer, Saul Alinsky, to organize Woodlawn to withstand wholesale clearance. The University of Chicago's announcement of its "South Campus Plan" wasn't long in coming. Having applied for Federal funds under a new act designed to help colleges improve their environment, the university hoped to clear a mile-long slice of Woodlawn for an "expansion program."

More than forty thousand Woodlawners rallied to Alinsky's Temporary Woodlawn Organization, and at a community "congress" voted overwhelmingly to oppose any renewal program that was not approved and directed by Woodlawn citizens. Alinsky warned, "There will be people lying in front of the bulldozers if the university doesn't listen to us." Up to the moment of writing, the bulldozers haven't breached Woodlawn's borders.

WHEN PRICING on Hyde Park's rising apartments and town houses was announced, Negro tempers flared. Apartment rentals ranged from $125 for efficiencies to $235 for bedroom apartments; town houses were priced from $20,000 to $42,000. Negroes cried, "We've been priced out!" Then, Hyde Park business interests succeeded in postponing indefinitely the construction of the 120 units of public housing the city council had recommended. By this time, the Negroes were sure



they had been duped. "Urban renewal was a false promise," declared the Urban League. The Negro daily Chicago *Defender* summed it up ruefully: "Nothing has been more difficult to contend with than the newest strategy of racial discrimination—the device called 'urban renewal.'"

This disenchantment was dramatized last spring by two dissimilar events. Negro sculptor Richard Hunt, who had been commissioned to execute a bronze phoenix for a monument to Hyde Park urban renewal, stunned Hyde Park by announcing that he had decided not to complete his work. To a plea that he reconsider, Hunt replied that he would deliver his sculpture only on condition that he be permitted to destroy it as soon as it was unveiled. (The monument was not recommissioned.) The other event was the trouncing at the polls of Mayor Richard J. Daley's $22.5-million urban renewal bond issue. Analysis of the vote showed the Negro electorate contributed strongly to the defeat.

The mayor's response was to release a study, a survey of real-estate speculator operations that revealed new exploitation methods such as installment-plan contracts. The buyer who was late in making his payment was charged a sizable "fine"; if he defaulted, his property was repossessed without refund. One buyer who had paid $800 down and $222 a month plus fines for two years lost all by defaulting. Since the study prompted no corrective regulations, presumably its only effect was to advertise the lucrative possibilities of "turning a neighborhood."

If They Can Pay

Negro repudiation of urban renewal has prodded the conscience of Hyde Park, which is proud of its reputation for liberalism. There has been some checking to determine if Negro accusations are valid. Checking is remarkably easy. The amount of new housing constructed on urban renewal sites is well known to be 250 town houses and two apartment buildings. Twenty-seven town houses are occupied by Negro families (the majority interracial couples); an FHA survey found fourteen per cent Negro tenancy in the apartments. It is difficult to determine to what degree this low Negro occupancy is due to pricing, how much to screening. All other construction on urban renewal land to date has been for institutional and retail commercial use; other cleared sites have been assigned for parks and playlots; much cleared land remains unpurchased. To be sure, a great deal of new housing has gone up in the project area on sites unaffected by the nondiscriminatory clause, and a great deal of the older housing has been rehabilitated. Property values have soared; so have rents. None of the promised 120 units of public housing have been constructed, nor have sites been assigned. Eighty-four units of housing for the elderly, which had been projected prior to urban renewal, were relegated to a remote corner of Hyde Park. Formerly separated by blocks undergoing racial transition, white and Negro sectors now are cleaved by an economic line

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of demarcation through which Negroes pass, if they are lucky, for the small quantity of housing for which they are eligible—if they can pay.

Thus, the admission of a hundred professional-class Negro families to Hyde Park's urban renewal housing appears to be the replacement for the fourteen thousand Negroes who were evicted.

Initially touted as a national model for racially integrated urban renewal, the Federally assisted "nondiscriminatory" pilot project has served to roll back the ghetto border, generating pressures that deliver displaced residents into the hands of greedy landlords and ruthless speculators. More than 150,000 Negro Chicagoans have been displaced by clearance since 1948, according to the Urban League. The Chicago experience stands as a dire warning of how the President's new nondiscriminatory housing order can be circumvented by planners whose goal is upgrading real-estate values instead of human lives. Urban renewal has even failed in its goal of attracting suburbanites back to the city; the exodus of Chicagoans to the suburbs has increased.

IF CLEARANCE has promoted residential segregation, school segregation has been assisted by new construction—that is, by the construction of additional all-Negro schools. Since the 1930's, the Chicago Board of Education has generally used residential segregation as its guide for school-attendance zoning (except during the 1947-1953 superintendency of Harold Hunt), redrafting school districts as the color line shifted. But school segregation lagged behind housing segregation for a time because of a lack of seating space in Negro schools. When Negro schools reached the load limit of forty-five students to a classroom, the overflow was channeled across ghetto lines until additional schools could be built.

A large school-construction appropriation has had the effect of enforcing a segregation policy for which the board recently was taken to task by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The board justifies its policy on the basis that it is operating a "neighborhood school system," but the commission charged that "In many areas it has not been operating a neighborhood school system, but has acted as if it were." Superintendent Benjamin Willis recently asked for more building funds. Negro groups oppose the request, saying that construction will be used for further racial separation, and that under integration the twenty-two thousand surplus seats in white schools would take up the seat shortages of Negro schools. They say—and the Civil Rights Commission concurs—that Chicago Negro schools are inferior to white schools and that Negro schools are poorly supervised because of the lack of experienced teachers. Awaiting more building funds, the board is maintaining segregation by assigning Negro classes to mobile classrooms (dubbed "Willis wagons"), cafeterias, auditoriums, corridors, gymnasiums, basements, warehouses, vacant stores, and apartment space in public housing.

Educated by a school system that seems to be striving toward the "separate but equal" Supreme Court directive of 1896, housed according to the Chicago "rule" of 1917, and disillusioned by a decade of "nondiscriminatory housing," Chicago Negroes cheered neither President Kennedy's latest housing order nor Mayor Daley's latest study, which explored Chicago in the year 2013 and found "all races completely integrated and absorbed."

A Barnyard View Of Soviet Agriculture

ALLEN B. BALLARD, Jr.

HARDLY A DAY passes, it seems, without some western or Russian observer trying to identify and explain the causes of the Soviet agricultural difficulties. Most American specialists agree that the farm system would perform better if peasant earnings were raised and more capital invested in machinery and fertilizer. Khrushchev has recently moved in this direction, but he still devotes much of his time to tongue-lashings of party and state agricultural officials who, he insists, simply have not made adequate use of the resources already available to them. But what do Soviet rural administrators themselves feel to be the cause of the country's agricultural backwardness? Theirs is the missing voice in the chorus of commentary on the topic.

In September, 1959, upon my arrival at Moscow's Timiryazevskaya Agricultural Academy, where I was to spend a year as a graduate exchange student, I found myself housed with some seventy-five former state farm directors, machine-tractor station directors, and collective farm chairmen. Soon after Stalin's death, Soviet agricultural colleges, prodded by Khrushchev, had sent hundreds of well-trained specialists into the countryside. Beginning in 1957, the best of these young people had been given the opportunity to return to agricultural institutes as graduate students so as to combine their field experiences with the latest developments in research. In this way, Khrushchev hoped to inject rural practicality into what he deemed to

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be the excessively scholarly atmosphere of these colleges.

Among my fellow students were representatives of all the major Soviet nationalities, from Latvians, unshaken in the belief of their cultural superiority, to a Daghestani, descended from the fierce Caucasian mountain warriors. They had served as farm administrators in practically every region under cultivation in the Soviet Union. Many were stamped as veterans of the virgin lands campaign by nubs of toes frostbitten in the dry subzero cold of the Siberian steppes, and by faces old before their time. As one said, "We developed the virgin lands, but the virgin lands mastered us." Quite a few had been charged with the responsibility of directing farms with work forces of well over 1,500 men before they had reached their twenty-fifth birthday.

A heavy burden had been placed upon these young men because they and others of their graduating classes were all that Khrushchev had in the way of educated agricultural specialists. They had been caught up in the enthusiasm and sense of mission that Khrushchev brought to agriculture in 1953. His famous September speech of that year, exposing the backwardness of the state and collective farms, was mild in comparison to the franker reports read to them at closed party and Komsomol meetings. But there was a feeling among the agricultural cadres that at long last the countryside would receive its due. The régime's recognition of their ability and dedication was clearly shown both by the high proportion of party members among my fellow students (about seventy-five per cent) and by their admission to the Timiryazevskaya Academy as candidates for masters' degrees. These men constituted the elite of the young agricultural managerial class, the group upon which Khrushchev must depend for leadership in his drive to raise the productivity of Soviet agriculture.

Yet by the time I made their acquaintance in 1959, these experienced farm managers had become deeply pessimistic about the prospects of bettering the performance of the rural economy. Some of them had been ordered by the party to report to the academy, but others had requested assignment to graduate work simply because they had recognized the impossibility of trying to change the Russian countryside under existing conditions. Six years before, they had dreamed of being directors of prosperous, efficient model farms that would have approached western farms in both productivity and standard of living, but their efforts had been thwarted by bureaucracy, lack of money for capital improvements and wages, and most importantly by the Soviet peasantry itself. They now bore little resemblance to the young graduate just preparing to leave for the virgin lands who proudly announced to me that he was "going to give grain to the motherland that has nurtured and educated me."

The Peasant Has Not Heard

The Russian peasant and his conservative ways were repeatedly cited as being the major obstacle to rural progress. For example, a former kolkhoz chairman, one of those who volunteered for assignment to a backward farm, told me how he spent days lecturing the peasants on the benefits to be gained from mowing hay at the proper time. Step by step,

he had traced out the process by which livestock weight would be raised and the kolkhozniks' pockets filled with money if only they would co-operate in the mowing. "On the eve of the hay gathering," he related, "I held a mass meeting and was genuinely impressed with their understanding of the importance of the task. Resolutions were passed, speakers were applauded, and the peasants swore that they'd be on hand the next day. I arrived at the assembly point at six o'clock to find only four kolkhozniks there—the worst workers on the farm. I jumped into my truck and tried to round up the rest, most of whom were already hard at work on their own plots. They all had the same excuse: 'What difference will one man make to the mowing?' What was I to do? Have them all arrested?"

A former machine-tractor station director laughed at my naïveté when I asked him about the effectiveness of propaganda sessions in changing peasant attitudes about work on the socialized sector of the farms. "Scolding," he said, "is the word you mean. They don't understand reasoning. I raised hell with them and if that didn't work, I cuffed one or two of them. They understood then. Even a Lenin couldn't have talked them out of working on their plots."

A former chief agronomist of a collective farm poured out a similar tale of frustration in the face of peasant attitudes. He insisted that the low level of productivity among kolkhozniks was not due to any inherent backwardness of village dwellers; the problem was that collectivization, industrialization, and the war had drained the countryside of its best elements. Now, according to him, only the old, the shiftless, and those without initiative had remained on the farms: "These and the old women do the cultivating. They don't know how to work together, and if they do work, they receive payments so low that they are convinced that it does no good to work on the collective sector. Instead they concentrate on their miserable plots and curse the collective farm chairman and their existence. What did I do about it? I pushed them, I shouted at them, I tried to tell them about the difference new techniques could make. But they were long past listening."

Another student, after draining three full glasses of vodka at one of the monthly payday splurges that were our main entertainment at the academy, swore that the peasants loved dirt and backwardness. It was their natural lot. Yet he did not hate them. In fact, he loved them, and it was precisely their rejection of the light he had proposed to bring into their lives that had brought him to

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the academy as a graduate student. Pounding his fists on a table, he asked his companions whether a good Communist could be expected to have done more than he had. No, they assured him, he had done his best; it was the damned peasants.

The Theorist and the Farm

The farm difficulties, however, were not always blamed on the peasants, for the countryside remains undermechanized by American standards. These technicians, skilled in the use of modern agricultural machinery, often found that crops were still cultivated by hand. Under these circumstances their training was useless and their role reduced to that of a boss over field hands. "You see," said one, "we spent hours and hours learning how to use corn drills, but it was years before I even saw one in the field. As late as 1958, the peasants on my farm were still sowing corn by hand. Now what the hell use was I with all of my education out there? I might as well have been sitting in a café here in Moscow. Obviously you can't have things both ways: either you train agronomists and give them the equipment to work with, or you do nothing at all."

Their mission of transforming the countryside had been further frustrated by the rural bureaucracy, which constantly opposed Khrushchev's efforts to grant more autonomy to the farms. "What is a district party secretary?" one of my fellow students roared at the mention of the title. "A man who has learned to obey, who knows how to apply pressure, and who doesn't bother to learn the problems of the area." Others complained about the rural government and party cliques who, unaware of modern agricultural techniques, felt threatened by every new specialist and therefore, in a decisiveness and arrogance born of ignorance, attempted to regulate every aspect of farm life. A party member returned from a trip to a kolkhoz loudly abusing the entire Soviet hierarchy. It turned out that a friend, employed on the farm as a veterinarian, was being officially reprimanded because livestock entrusted to her care were dying. Yet five months earlier she had pleaded that a special drug be ordered for protection against the disease. She had been advised by her superiors that the old ways were the best ways. Besides, they said, the new drug was too expensive and funds hadn't been budgeted for it in the year's plan. And now she was faced with the prospect not only of a reprimand from the party but also of a fine for negligence.

There was a feeling among the agronomists that they had been personally neglected by the régime. In the Soviet Union, as in the United States, a farmer's social status is not particularly high. Many of the students had originally chosen agriculture as a career because it represented the sole hope of their receiving any type of higher education. This was particularly true of those whose parents had been imprisoned during the purges. They were automatically excluded from study in "sensitive fields." The agricultural graduate students almost never went to the restaurants in midtown Moscow, the meeting places of the new Soviet youth. One explained that it was due to their appearance: "It's quite simple; the doormen won't let us in. We don't look good enough for them." In fact, the agricultural cadres remain outside the main stream of urban life in the Soviet Union. The everyday acceptance of western things so characteristic of Moscow University students simply did not exist at the academy.

These men bore little resemblance to the austere and doctrinaire managers often portrayed in the Soviet press. Despite the predominance of party members among them, their private criticism of Soviet society could be withering. Most knew little or nothing about dialectical materialism, and this was evidenced by the high proportion who regularly failed their graduate qualifying exams in this subject. Their general apathy about ideology was also displayed in a Marxism-Leninism seminar I attended, where report after dreary report was read to the accompaniment of doodling and snoring by the country's "leading agricultural cadres."

Frequently, as the hour grew late during our free-time social sessions, the conversation would turn to the miseries of growing up in a Stalinist, war-devastated Russia. A student who had spent his childhood in the steppes of Central Asia fleeing with his parents from collectivization and the police might wonder out loud at the paradox that socialism, called into existence to banish the wastefulness of capitalism, was itself even more wasteful of human beings.

Moreover, many of these former rural administrators openly admitted having returned to graduate school because of the discrepancy between their earnings and those of industrial specialists. The low level of their salaries—often a reflection of the poor performances of the farms—had convinced them that the only way to support their families was to become agricultural researchers, a position open to them after completion of the three-year graduate program. Here they would earn from the outset about twice what they had made as farm administrators. As it was, most of them had just barely managed to make ends meet while in the villages, and such necessary items as winter coats for the family or a dress for one's wife could only be purchased by cutting down on meat and butter for several months. They had expected better from the state, particularly after an undergraduate training which they felt had been as rigorous and demanding as that given in a scientific institute.

The Time Lag

Any doubts that an outsider might have harbored about the accuracy of their assessment of Soviet agriculture were quickly dispelled by the atmosphere of the academy itself. For here, in the very center of agricultural research, experimental fields were still sometimes cultivated by horse-drawn plows; specialists in some areas of agriculture found that the latest western book on their topic was dated 1924; and economics professors—in 1960—were just beginning to urge their students to study problems of the optimum size of farms. Former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, after a visit to Russia, declared that Soviet agriculture was twenty-five years behind the United States. Soon thereafter, in an informal gathering of my friends, I asked how many agreed with this statement. All, including several doctrinaire Communists, felt that Benson had underestimated the gap by five to ten years.

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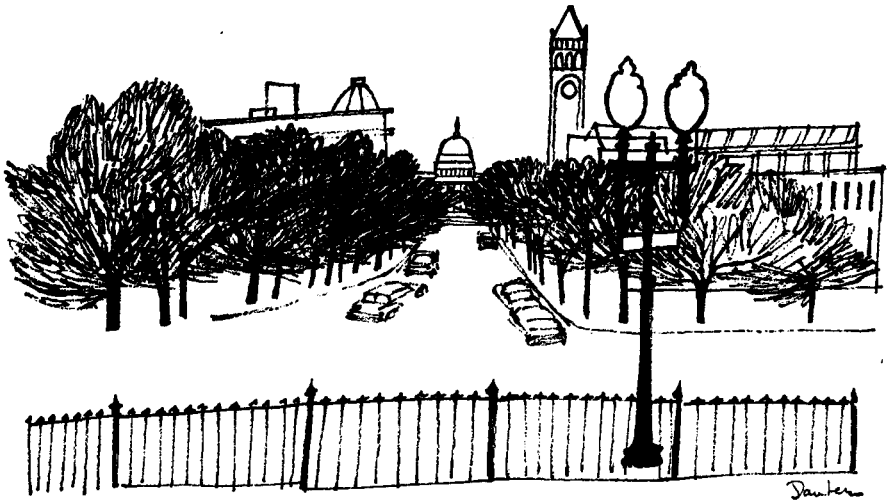

Are We Looking At the Wrong Budget?

WILLARD W. HOWARD

A RECURRENT THEME in postwar American economic journalism and speechmaking is the assertion that the Federal government has spent too much for too many purposes and has lived beyond its means, piling deficit upon deficit, with the result that we have experienced dangerous increases in the national debt. The first of these charges—that the Federal government has spent unwisely—is made by many and vociferously expounded; others defend the level, if not the composition, of Federal spending in the postwar period; and a stubborn few believe we should have had even more government spending.

There are many shades of opinion about this thorny problem. But the second charge—that the government has lived alarmingly beyond its means—can be easily tested by a look at the facts. The facts, however, have not been conveniently available to the American public, which, inadvertently or otherwise, has been exposed to a great deal of misinformation on Federal finance during the postwar years.

Typical of the perhaps well-meaning but misleading information foisted upon the public was this recent pronouncement by Senator Harry F. Byrd, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee: "This nation has been on a deficit financing basis for twenty-five of the past thirty-one years. The statutory limit on the Federal debt is now $308 billion. A Federal debt approaching $308 billion will be the greatest national debt in history—in war or peace. Our fiscal position does not inspire confidence at home or abroad. . . . Those in authority must act to restore confidence in the dollar. *They can act most effectively and expeditiously by action to balance the domestic budget.*" (The italics are Senator Byrd's.)

The misinformation concerning Federal finance derives from the nature of the government's accounts. What Senator Byrd and most of the press call deficits have in some cases not been deficits at all, in the sense in which most Americans use the term. In other cases, the deficits they complain about would have appeared much lower if figured by the accounting methods used in the average business. Most Americans undoubtedly consider a deficit to be the result of spending more than current income, financing the difference by dipping into savings or going into debt. Conversely, a budget surplus is considered the result of spending less than current income. But the most widely publicized and discussed government financial document, the Federal administrative budget, does *not* reveal the simple relationship between receipts from and payments to the rest of the economy by the Federal government.

THE administrative budget, presented to Congress by the President along with his annual budget message, contains cost estimates for many expenditure programs together with estimates of certain receipts to finance them. Congress can, and frequently does, modify the administrative budget. It is the device through which Congress and the President, through the Bureau of the Budget, impose fiscal discipline upon the administrative departments and agencies of the government and upon the judiciary. The administrative budget, however, is not an appropriate measure of the total fiscal operations of the government, because it does not include all Federal expenditures and sources of revenue. Not only is it an incomplete accounting of Federal fiscal operations—indeed, that is not its real function—but it is a very biased accounting, excluding as it does more of the government's receipts than expenditures, with the result that it is apt to show deficits that don't exist, or to show larger deficits or smaller surpluses than actually exist.

There is, fortunately, a simple, straightforward accounting statement that shows just how much the government spent and how much it received from taxes and administrative revenues during a fiscal year. Reporters, authors, publishers, and speechmakers haven't made much use of it to date, however. It is variously called the "cash budget," the "consolidated cash statement of Federal transactions," and "receipts from and payments to the public." As these titles suggest, the cash budget accounts for all, not just part, of Federal payments to the public and all, not just part, of its

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FEDERAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

(Billions of dollars)

	ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET			CASH BUDGET			
Fiscal Year	Receipts	Expenditures	Surplus or Deficit	Receipts	Expenditures	Surplus or Deficit	Cumulative Balance
1947	$39.8	$39.0	$ .8	$ 43.5	$ 36.9	$ 6.6	$ 6.6
1948	41.4	33.0	8.4	45.4	36.5	8.9	15.5
1949	37.7	39.5	−1.8	41.6	40.6	1.0	16.5
1950	36.4	39.5	−3.1	40.9	43.1	−2.2	14.3
1951	47.5	44.0	3.5	53.4	45.8	7.6	21.9
1952	61.3	65.3	−4.0	68.0	68.0	0.0	21.9
1953	64.7	74.1	−9.4	71.5	76.8	−5.3	16.6
1954	64.4	67.5	−3.1	71.6	71.9	− .2	16.4
1955	60.2	64.4	−4.2	67.8	70.5	−2.7	13.7
1956	67.8	66.2	1.6	77.1	72.6	4.5	18.2
1957	70.6	69.0	1.6	82.1	80.0	2.1	20.3
1958	68.5	71.4	−2.8	81.9	83.4	−1.5	18.8
1959	67.9	80.3	−12.4	81.7	94.8	−13.1	5.7
1960	77.8	76.5	1.2	95.1	94.3	.8	6.3
1961	77.7	81.5	−3.9	97.2	99.5	−2.3	4.0
1962	81.4	87.7	−6.3	101.9	107.6	−5.7	−1.7
Total			$−33.9	Total		$−1.7	

receipts from the public, exclusive of borrowing. The table on this page shows some interesting comparisons between the administrative and cash budgets since fiscal 1947.

From July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1962, the administrative budget was in deficit in ten out of sixteen fiscal years, with a cumulative deficit for the entire period of almost $34 billion. These are the figures that Senator Byrd, who should know better, and many other Americans look at and proclaim like Chicken Little, "The sky is falling." The cash budget figures, on the other hand, show that over the period as a whole, the government spent only $1.7 billion more than it received in tax and associated revenues, and this notwithstanding the necessity of financing the Korean War in the interim. Indeed, until the end of fiscal 1961 (ending June 30, 1961) we were ahead in the game—and had been considerably ahead until fiscal 1959's whopping deficit.

A Proper Accounting

The cash budget deficits of recent years, which are very real, are attributable not so much to the improvidence of Congress or the President as to a lagging economy. When the economy begins operating at substantially less than its potential, tax receipts fall below what previously were reasonable expectations; but governmental payments, particularly for unemployment compensation and retirement annuities, rise, creating deficits. During periods of deficit financing, the government literally puts more into the economy by way of expenditures than it takes out by way of revenue receipts, thus shoring up the economy. There are few informed observers who believe that the economy did not need this shoring up during and following the economic contractions of 1957-1958 and 1960-1961, or that it is not needed during the present state of softness in the economy.

Basically, the administrative budget is concerned with expenditures which require annual appropriations of funds by Congress and with sources of revenue to finance those expenditures. But there are in addition certain programs established by Congress that are not amenable to annual granting or withholding of funds. These continuing obligations involve disbursements from the Federal trust funds—funds collected under special levies and held in trust by the Federal government for specific beneficiaries. The most important of these trust funds are the Federal old-age, survivors, and disability funds (Social Security), which currently have a balance of over $22 billion; Federal employees' funds, principally retirement, with a current balance of over $13 billion; and the highway trust fund, from which monies are granted to states on a matching basis for highway construction, with disbursements currently exceeding over $3 billion per year. In addition, the government holds funds in trust for state unemployment compensation, railroad employees' retirement, veterans' life insurance, and other miscellaneous purposes. In the aggregate, the trust accounts hold assets whose value exceeds $54 billion. Disbursements from the trust accounts have grown rapidly in recent years, and currently exceed $27 billion per year, or nearly one-fourth of total Federal spending. It is obvious that a realistic measure of Federal fiscal operations must include these trust-fund disbursements.

The special levies that support the trust funds must also be taken into consideration. They too are excluded from the administrative budget. There may be some objection to treating some of these revenues like income taxes, but their economic impact is essentially the same. In both cases funds are taken out of the flow of private spending and if not returned in one way or another will have a contractive effect upon the economy. The Federal payroll tax that supports the Social Security annuities is not a minor tax by any standard. It currently provides over $15 billion in revenues per year, ranking right after the personal and corporate income taxes as sources of Federal tax revenues, and rivaling the Federal income, state sales, and state and local property taxes in its demands upon the typical American worker.

THE BIAS imparted by the use of the administrative budget as a measure of the fiscal operations of the Federal government arises from the fact that expenditures which are included have tended to exceed receipts to finance them, while the expenditures not included—the trust-fund disbursements—have in most postwar years been substantially less than the receipt of funds to finance them. The government's general fund, the Treasury, has therefore operated at a deficit while the government's special funds, the trust accounts, have operated at a surplus in practically every year and will undoubtedly continue to do so throughout the coming decade. Thus far in the postwar period, the surpluses of the special funds have just about offset the deficits of the general fund, with the result that the cash budget, which provides a complete accounting of government receipts and disbursements, has been nearly in balance. This is an

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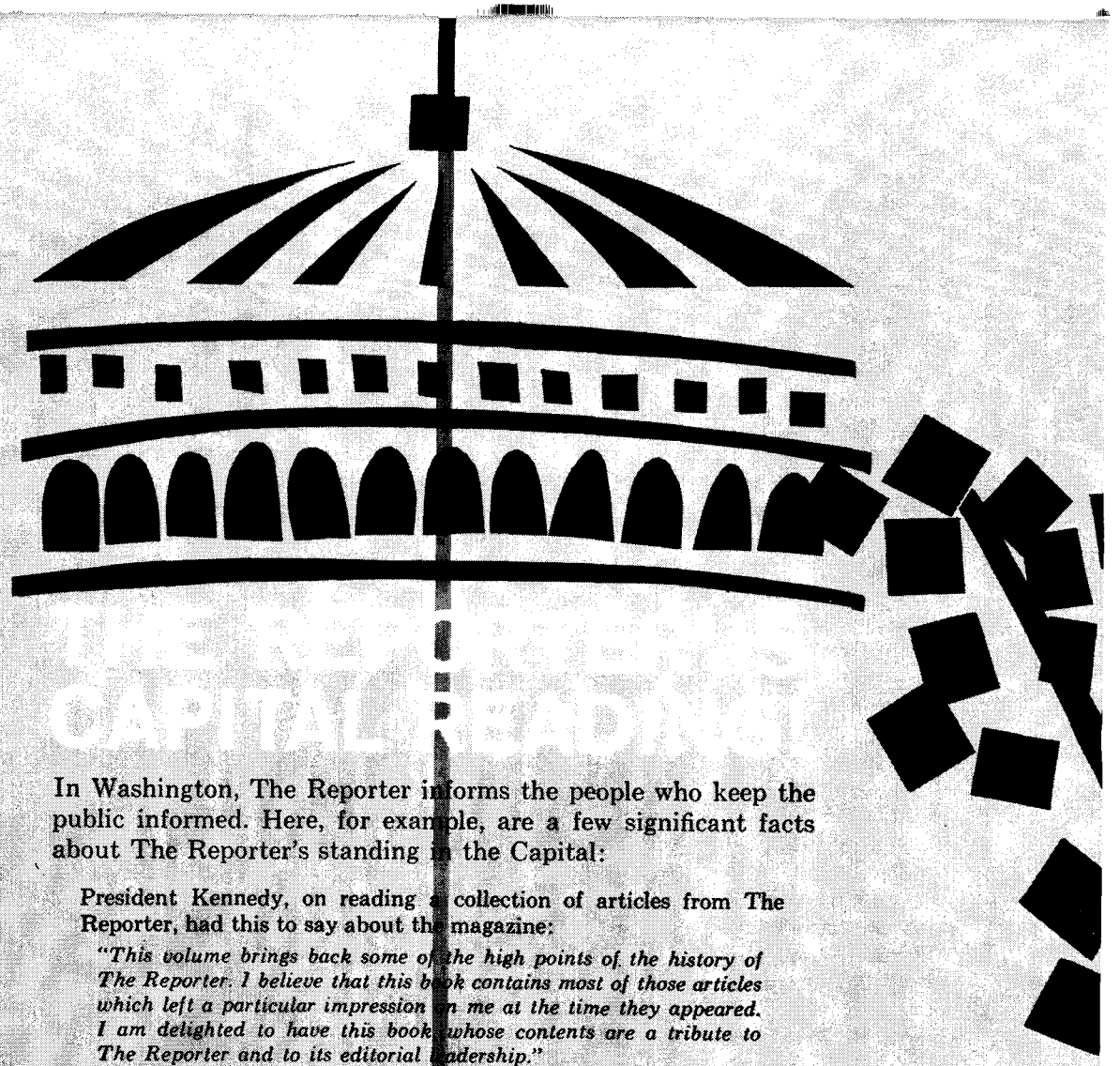

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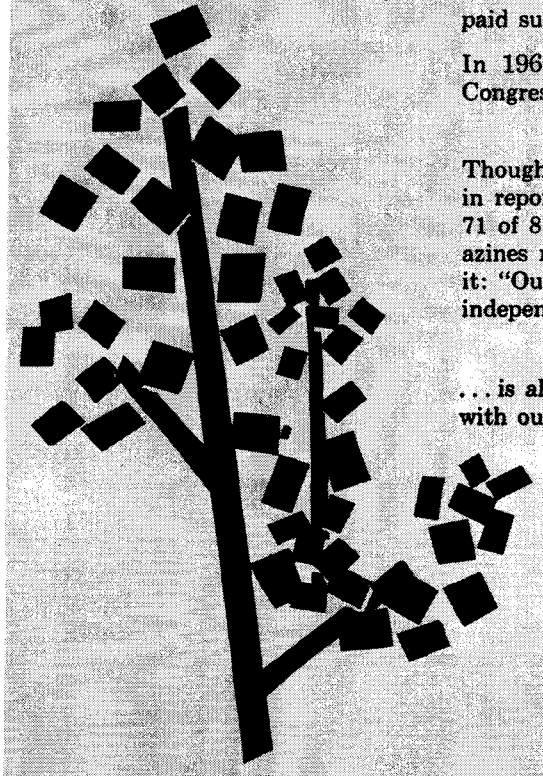

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economic fact that will surprise most Americans.

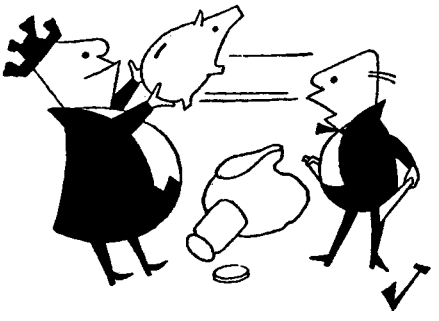
If total receipts have approximated disbursements during the last fifteen years, why, many may ask, has the national debt increased? The explanation requires a further excursion into the intricacies of Federal financial accounting. Just as there is more than one Federal budget, there is more than one concept of the national debt. The extent to which the national debt has increased depends upon the concept of debt one chooses.

The *gross debt* covers all outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Treasury, including bonds held by government agencies, trust funds, and the Federal Reserve System. This is the largest figure one can get of the national debt. It is the one most frequently used, and it has grown from $258.4 billion at the end of fiscal 1947 to $298.6 at the end of fiscal 1962, a rise of $40.2 billion. It is an ideal figure for those who want to make the debt appear large and fearsome and to demonstrate that it is getting more so.

The *net debt* (publicly held) excludes the amounts owed to government agencies and the Federal Reserve. It has grown from $203.7 billion in 1947 to $212.4 billion in 1962, a rise of only $8.7 billion. It is much more significant economically than the gross debt, but is seldom referred to by reporters, writers of magazine articles, politicians, columnists, and speechmakers. This state of affairs is largely attributable to a lack of economic sophistication on the part of most of those who address the public through our mass communications media. Unfortunately, those who spread the "large and fearsome—larger and fearsomer" doctrine have been more successful propagandists than those who desire to show the national debt in a proper perspective.

We Owe It to Overselves

Analysis of shifts among the types of bondholders demonstrates that the increase in the gross debt vis-à-vis the rest of the economy is largely fictitious. The national debt has not grown in the postwar period as a result of the Treasury's selling bonds to individuals, commercial banks, insurance companies, and other members of the public. On the contrary, individual ownership—$65.1 billion in 1962—was $2 billion less than in 1947, and indebtedness to banks and insurance companies decreased to an even greater extent, down to $83.6 billion from $107.1 billion. The reduction in indebtedness to these classes of bondholders, of course, was more than offset by increased indebtedness to non-financial corporations, state and local governments, and miscellaneous investors—the recent sharp increase in this latter category largely representing increased foreign holdings of United States securities. The largest increases in the Treasury's indebtedness, however, have resulted from increased holdings of government securities by the Federal Reserve System and, more importantly, by the trust funds and other Federal agencies. These holdings rose from $54.7 billion in 1947 to $86.2 billion in 1962 and from 21.3 per cent of the gross national debt in the earlier



year to 28.8 per cent in the latter. As a result of shifts in ownership of outstanding securities, the publicly held (net) debt only grew from $203.7 billion to $212.4 billion between 1947 and 1962, while the gross debt rose from $258.4 billion to $298.6 billion. Because of the special conditions governing the "indebtedness" to Federal agencies that makes up such a large part of the gross debt, the publicly held net debt is the more relevant measure of the government's financial position.

The nearly ten per cent of the gross debt held by the Federal Reserve System is of minor concern to the Treasury. Earning a profit has not been one of the major goals of the Federal Reserve, but it has nevertheless made handsome profits and the bulk of its earnings are simply turned over to the Treasury. These payments exceed seventy-five per cent of the interest the Treasury annually pays to the Federal Reserve banks, making the net cost to the Treasury of securities held by the Federal Reserve very low indeed. Prospects are that the Federal Reserve, in providing the monetary expansion our economy will require in the future, will increase its holdings of U.S. securities through purchases in the bond market, thus transferring additional Treasury obligations to this relatively cost-free status.

When the trust funds lend their surpluses to the Treasury, the debt obligations of the government to the rest of the economy are not increased, although the loan is included in the gross debt. The increase in the gross national debt that arises from such transactions is fictitious, a matter of internal bookkeeping only. What our government owes its own agencies need not be included in a statement of the government's financial position vis-à-vis the rest of the economy.

To illustrate this point further, let us see what the effect on our gross national debt would have been in the postwar years if our government had collected more revenue under the personal income tax and less from the Social Security payroll tax. Actually, the Social Security trust funds increased by $13.6 billion over the fifteen-year period. If over the same period $13.6 billion less had been collected in Social Security payroll taxes but the same amount more had been collected in income taxes, the increase in the gross debt would have been $13.6 billion less, although the funds available to the government for spending would have been unchanged. This is because the Social Security tax is paid into a special fund whose surpluses are *lent* to the Treasury and "increase" the gross debt, while income taxes are paid directly into the Treasury and "reduce" the debt. It is obvious that when a change in the national debt is predicated upon *what kind of* taxes are employed rather than upon *how much* tax is collected relative to total expenditures, the change in the debt will be largely spurious. Since the war these spurious changes

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in the national debt have been mostly increases rather than decreases.

When we compare the increase in the government securities held by all of the trust funds and the Federal Reserve with the increase in the gross national debt, we find they account for all but $8.7 billion—or twenty per cent—of the increase in the gross debt. Of this $8.7-billion increase in the publicly held debt, however, only $1.7 billion represents the cumulative excess of Federal disbursements over cash receipts. The remainder represents an increase of $5.3 billion in the Treasury's current money holdings between 1947 and 1962, and interest accrued but not yet paid on outstanding Treasury securities.

The publicly held debt rise from $203.7 billion at the end of fiscal year 1947 to $212.4 billion at the end of fiscal year 1962 is a rather modest increase considering the political turmoil in which the world has been embroiled during those fifteen years, and even this small increase loses magnitude when we compare the debt at the two points in time to the corresponding Gross National Product figures. The Gross National Product in 1947 was $234.3 billion, making the publicly held debt eighty-seven per cent as large as our national output. In 1962, the debt was slightly higher than at the earlier date, but in the interim, GNP grew more rapidly than the debt. As a consequence, the net debt was only about thirty-eight per cent of 1962's GNP of $553.9 billion. Future modest increases in the publicly held debt will undoubtedly permit a continuation of the decrease in the debt as a percentage of GNP.

FEARS of the American public concerning the fiscal operations of the Federal government in the postwar years can hardly be justified by these facts. Our government has not lived beyond its means nearly to the extent that most Americans have been led to believe, and the widely deplored increases in the national debt have been largely spurious. It is imperative that we put the recent financial record of the government into proper perspective, lest fiscal stringency prevent the solution of more urgent national problems.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

Art Without Artists

ELAINE KENDALL

BY THE END of spring the Pop Art movement will have made the new styles in painting available to everyone at a fraction of what art used to cost. Soon people will be able to have art at the kind of prices they've been paying all along for non-art, or ordinary consumer goods. For only pennies a day, one will be able to become an important collector, or even an artist. And these works will be indistinguishable from the masterpieces now hanging in such sanctuaries as the Guggenheim Museum, the Whitney, and the Museums of Modern Art in Washington and New York. It is entirely possible to own, for nineteen cents or even less, a can of Campbell's Beef Noodle soup that the greatest expert in the world would be unable to tell from Andy Warhol's trend-setting can of Campbell's soup.

It is the peculiar nature of Pop Art that makes this extraordinary offer feasible. Before the recent advance in technique, this kind of opportunity would have been unthinkable. Those who wish to, of course, can still go to galleries on Fifty-seventh Street and pay gallery prices for the same merchandise, but why, when you have all the material necessary in your pantry or garage? In many cases, there is absolutely nothing to buy. A Coke bottle, a pair of overalls, or a copy of *Life* magazine becomes your personal art professor. And when you have finished your lesson, you can drink the Coke, put on the overalls, and read the magazine.

After you have become proficient at soup cans, Coke bottles, and ice-cream cones, you can go on to American flags (all straight lines), archery targets (all curved lines), letters, and numbers. Lately we've been neglecting our native values. People have been going to New York, Paris, and Rome to study painting, when the best art school of all is your own home, your nearest supermarket, or the hardware store on the corner. Pop Art disposes of the subversive notion that billboards, comic strips, and television commercials are aspects of our civilization fit only to be ignored or, worse yet, derided. It gives them a place of honor in our cultural life, enriching it as never before.

LAST SUMMER'S assemblage show at the Museum of Modern Art proved that Pop Art is older than the horseless carriage. There were examples that went all the way back to 1888, when John Haberle did a painting of old Treasury notes, stamps, and small change, with a tintype thrown in for good luck. By 1912, Braque, Picasso, and Gris had emptied the contents of their pockets onto collages that incorporated theatre stubs, calling cards, newspaper clippings, bits of string, cigarette papers, and occasional shreds of tobacco. Picasso's "Guitar" (1926) was made of sackcloth and real nails. Apparently hardware has had a small but respectable place in painting for nearly four decades. Jim Dine, one of the six Pop artists in the Guggenheim exhibit, is merely a neo-nailist. Duchamp and Man Ray shopped the notion counters of Paris for "ready-mades" before the First World War. The Dada paintings and assemblage made use of everything up to, including, and beyond the kitchen sink, which in itself made a handy ready-made frame.

According to William Seitz, who organized last year's assemblage show, "Dada substituted a non-rational metaphysic of opposition for a rationalized hierarchy of values. As a consequence, it accorded to unsureness, accident, confusion, disunity, and discontinuity a share of the attention formerly reserved for what had been commonly regarded as their moral opposites, and released a constellation of physical and intellectual energies through which an

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artist could (and still can) operate in a way that, at least in the west, was previously impossible." Yes, and not only that, but the Dadaists had fun. Fun, in fact, was their secret weapon. It explains why they were able to *épater* the *bourgeoisie* once and for all, and confound the critics to this day.

Inevitably, forty years of constant abrasion have calloused the once tender skin of the public, and the old *bourgeoisie* is pretty hard to *épater* these days. We have long since, for example, got used to the idea that anything found in a gallery with a light over it and a sign under it is art. The prevalence of sophistication is clearly driving the artists frantic. Short of shooting the people through the heart as they enter the gallery, there seems to be no way to make them drop dead. "LIVE AMMO!," shouts a work by Roy Lichtenstein at the Guggenheim, but nobody jumps. "Hair!," hollers Dine, showing us six feet of it, all alike. "I Love You With My Ford," says James Rosenquist, offering an eighty-four-inch club sandwich of sliced car grille, billboard faces, and boiled spaghetti. "That's nice too," say the people, and move on to see what's next.

Pop Art may represent the final triumph of the sentimental and meretricious. For the first time in history, the artists seem to be one jump behind the general public. The avant-garde has embraced the flotsam and jetsam of civilization—comic strips, billboards, bolts and nuts, "B" movies—everything of which we the people are becoming increasingly intolerant. Not only have the artists accepted these subjects, they have glorified them, elevating the banal to museum status. Attending a Pop Art show is like listening to a reformed drunkard explain the evils of the demon rum. He wants you on the wagon too. No more bread and wine. Drink Coca-Cola and have a hot lunch. Do it yourself. Pay attention to the street signs. Enjoy a chocolate ice-cream soda and read the funnies every week. Wave the flag. Watch "The Late Show." Home is where the art is.

Hard as it is to believe, the Pop artists themselves disclaim any attempt at satire. They insist that they're not pulling our leg, and can get quite righteous about it. Jim Dine employs "useful, familiar things having to do with people." "There is no poor subject," says Robert Rauschenberg. Warhol's soup can has convinced at least one critic that "The texture of the weathered tin surface behind the tattered label has a quality of lofty elegance."

In many ways, the success of Pop Art is quite heartening. It's agreeable to know that all these years, we have been eating art, drinking it, and sweeping the floors with it. All that time spent on the highways and in the supermarkets amounts to a course in aesthetics. Each of us has a veritable Guggenheim in his refrigerator and a Whitney in the broom closet. The outlook would seem to be rosy for everyone except the critics, who are in a perilous profession during the best of times. The revival of the 1913 Armory Show and the reprinting of critical comment made at the time seems to have scared art writers quite out of their wits. There is nothing so hazardous in the art world as saying that a new trend is ridiculous, and as a result there is a constant search for the sort of verbiage that will get them off the hook, at least as far as posterity is concerned. Examples of it are all over. "Dine proves that when real buttons are added to a painted vest, they become false buttons. He blesses them with paint the way a priest blesses bread and wine with prayer." That passage, and others like it, can be found in a recent critical essay on Pop Art. The article is entitled "Jim Dine, Tools and Myth," and it appears in *Metro 7*, a handsome journal published in Italy and available wherever imported literary delicacies are sold. The author is Nicolas Calas. The piece itself is not much more fuddled than most of the others that have appeared on the Pop Art movement during the last few months—it's just a supreme example of what happens when a trained art critic is confronted by an assortment of buttons, broomsticks, bolts, and nuts, some of which are real and some are false. He blesses what he sees with metaphor the way the Pop artist prays for a group show at the Guggenheim.

It is clear that what Pop Art needs most of all at this crucial stage in its development is Pop critics. Who knows more about Campbell's soup cans—a writer for *Art News*, educated at Yale School of Fine Arts, or the stock boy at Gristede's, who spends his days stacking up Chicken Noodle and Pepper Pot? ("You gotta stagger them, or they make you dizzy.") Who is the logical person to comment upon the way the tools are hung in a Dine painting? Mr. Calas ("The general effect is classical, for he intends to reduce to a minimum the irregularity of space between tools. To avoid monotony, the frieze is subdivided into four unequal sections by saws and a brace which extend slightly below the other tools") or a carpenter ("Them tools look too little to be much good. Hang 'em that close together, you're gonna cut your hand on the saw reaching for the wrench")? For a really sound appraisal of Roy Lichtenstein's comic strips, we need not the curator of the Art Institute, who probably hasn't paid much attention to that particular field since the Katzenjammer Kids, but a third-grade devotee of Dick Tracy. "He draws O.K., but there's no story. If he didn't make them so big, he could get more in, the way they have it in the books." In criticism as in chimney sweeping, you should never send a man to do a boy's job. In order to get a true analysis of Claes Oldenberg's pastry case, we should ask someone who regularly eats in diners—a truck driver, for instance: "Some of that stuff looks good, but the Boston Cream, I dunno, is it fresh?" Who can assess Jasper Johns' hanging broom more acutely—Irwin Glusker, who commented laconically in the January issue of *Horizon*, "Here Johns simply hangs a cast-off broom onto his canvas. At the age of thirty-two, he has plenty of time to push his strange quest further," or a charwoman, who can take one look and get right to the point: "That broom's worn to nothin', like I told you last week. I'm here to push a *broom*, not some strange quest"?

When Pop Art finally gets the Pop critics it deserves, we'll really have given art back to the people, who can heat it, eat it, and save the wrappers.

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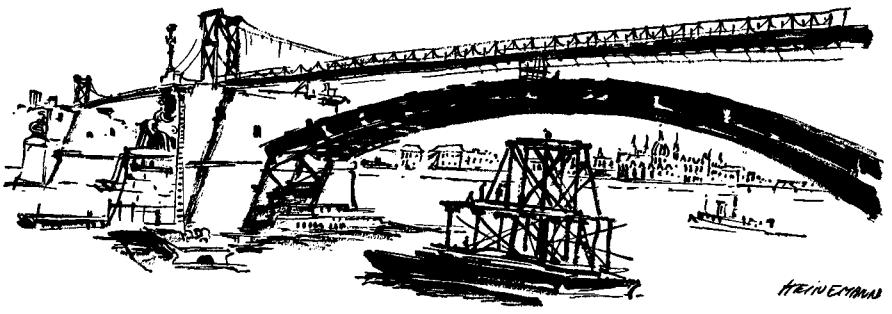

Tea with Ivo Andric

JOSEPH HITREC

CLIMBING THE STAIRS of No. 2A in the Street of Proletarian Brigades in Belgrade one evening not long ago, toward the apartment of Ivo Andric, I recalled someone telling me of a recent popular novel in which the author used the Nobel Prize as an apocalyptic device to change the lives of his characters. The speculation implicit in the theme seemed fascinating enough. What *did* the prize do for a man who had won it? Or *to* him, for that matter–especially if he happened to be the first of his countrymen to win it?

Andric was waiting for me on the landing in front of his apartment door. "Welcome to Belgrade," he said and showed me in. Outwardly he was the same man I remembered: trim, light on his feet, affable in a courtly, soft-spoken way, looking much younger than his seventy years. We had last met in the fall of 1961, shortly before the Swedish Academy awarded him the Nobel Prize for Literature, citing him for "the epic force with which he has depicted themes and human destinies from the history of his country." Since then, from all reports, he had become something of a hero to his own people and his tales of Bosnian life under the Turks had become available to readers all over the world.

He introduced me to his wife, a slim, quietly dressed woman of about fifty, with dancing blue eyes and a smooth, rosy complexion. I had not met her before but knew of her reputation as a painter and scenic designer for the National Theatre. They had married comparatively late; her professional name, Babic, still appeared alongside his on the apartment door.

At her suggestion, we made ourselves comfortable in the study. With its heavy mahogany desk, its massive book cabinets, and dark runners on the creaking parquet floor, the room had the air of a judge's chamber. Andric held out a box of Drina cigarettes. "They're special, you must try them," he said, and I saw a glint behind his horn-rimmed glasses.

I was familiar with the custom of local cigarette makers naming their brands after the country's rivers and mountains, and remembered this particular one as a widely sold prewar brand. Now, however, the inside flap was decorated with the sketch of a bridge and the legend said: "The Bridge on the Drina." This, of course, was the title of Andric's memorable chronicle of the ancient Turkish bridge at Vishegrad, one of the trilogy of books about his native Bosnia that had earned him the Nobel Prize.

"One doesn't expect this sort of thing from a state factory," Andric said a little self-consciously. "We're a small country, you see. When one of us makes a little noise in the outside world, the rest of us are inclined to bask in it."

I HAD ALREADY discovered the truth of that. When I landed at the Belgrade airport I happened to carry in my hand an American paperback copy of *The Bridge on the Drina,* the sight of which prompted the custom official to whisk me through the waiting line without so much as a glance at my baggage. And later, at the hotel, the desk clerk and a busboy had eagerly inspected the little volume, clucking their satisfaction at the sleek "Amerikanski" workmanship. I asked Andric if this meant, among other things, that the *Drina* surpassed in local esteem the other books of his trilogy, *The Travnik Chronicle* and *Miss.* He replied that it did, by a wide margin.

"And that's been true abroad too," he added. "Italy and Germany alone sold about quarter of a million copies. England, France, and Russia did almost as well. They tell me you can still find it in the railway bookstalls all over Europe. It's all a little intimidating. I sometimes wonder if the title has anything to do with it."

"What do you mean?"

"Well–the word 'bridge.' It is true that it has a certain mystical pull on people's imagination. Take the Bridge of Sighs in *Childe Harold,* or Rabelais' *Bridge of Silver.* The idea of some final traverse, of reaching out to the other side–what E. M. Forster meant by 'only connect.' There are a dozen-odd words in our vocabulary that represent the first genealogy of our civilization–words like fire, tool, wheel, shelter–and bridge is one of them. It goes back to the beginnings. One of the cabala of our first daring. Anyway, it's a tempting idea."

He went on to say that most of his other books had been retitled in foreign translations–*The Travnik Chronicle,* for instance, became *The Bosnian Story* in England, and *Viziers and Consuls* in Germany. But *The Bridge on the Drina* has remained that in all its twenty-eight foreign-language versions. And the Swedish Academy, in a departure from custom, had singled it out for special mention in the citation. "Perhaps, in some obscure way, this proves my point," he said with a deprecating smile.

I asked him what country had shown the widest interest in his work, aside from favorite titles.

"Germany, both East and West. After the *Drina* they came out with the rest of the trilogy. Then the novellas, *Devil's Yard, The Vizier's*

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Elephant, Mara the Courtesan, and others. Then volume after volume of short stories. They even went after the essays, *Conversations with Goya,* for example. They made a book of it, cloth-bound, with reproductions from the Prado. Afterwards the whole thing over again in pocket editions. I never saw anything like it. Let me show you . . ."

He led me to a glass-fronted cabinet packed with German editions and reprints. Virtually all he had ever written was there: the spectrum of dust-jacket colors and the impeccable graphic design one associates with Germany. A monument to what? To Andric or to Teutonic thoroughness?

I HAD BROUGHT with me some copies of American magazines containing his stories and a ninety-page treatment for a motion picture based on the *Drina*. Also a preface to the American edition of *The Travnik Chronicle,* which I had recently translated (it will be called *The Bosnian Chronicle* this time), and an invitation from the publisher to come and visit the United States.

"I'm afraid there won't be any travel this year," he told me. "The prize was a wonderful thing, of course, but it's been very hard on work and routine. Since that trip to Stockholm it's been nothing but functions, interviews, correspondence. I've had some very flattering invitations from America, from your State Department, the universities, even from individuals. There was a man in New York who wanted me to come to his testimonial dinner, and he was going to charter a plane there and back. No, I really must stay put for a while. There is a lot of work waiting."

I inquired about the "work," his book in progress that was being discussed in all the literary cafés of Belgrade. "It's a sequel to *The Travnik Chronicle,* but focused on Sarajevo during the period between Napoleon and the Austrian annexation of the 1870's. The death throes of Ottoman rule."

"A kind of *Sarajevo Chronicle?*"

"Yes, perhaps." He looked vaguely uncomfortable. There seemed to be no point in telling him that that was the title the café critics of Belgrade had long decided on.

BOOKS BY IVO ANDRIC AVAILABLE IN THIS COUNTRY

THE BRIDGE ON THE DRINA, translated by Lovett F. Edwards. *Macmillan, $3.95; Signet paperback, $0.95.*

THE DEVIL'S YARD, translated by Kenneth Johnstone. *Grove Press, $3.95.*

THE VIZIER'S ELEPHANT, translated by Drenka Willen. *Harcourt, Brace & World, $4.75.*

THE BOSNIAN CHRONICLE, translated by Joseph Hitrec, will be published in October by Knopf.

At that moment his wife knocked on the door. Tea was ready. We returned to the living room, where an elaborate table had been set up, Continental fashion, under a wall hung with copperplates of the old Belgrade fortress. Mrs. Andric poured. Sandwiches, some blanc-mange with whipped cream, and exquisitely fluted pastries were passed around. We talked about the time between the two wars when he had served as consul in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Romania, and, in 1939, as minister to Berlin. I knew that after the German invasion of Yugoslavia he had gone back to Belgrade and spent the war years as a recluse under vitual house arrest. The extent of his literary output in that unhappy interval had always been a wonder to me.

"It was a way of surviving," he recalled with a frown. "I remembered the moments in history when certain peoples seemed to lose out. I thought of Serbia and Bosnia blacked out in the Turkish tide of the sixteenth century. The odds against one were so monstrous . . . even hope was an aspect of despair. I read everything I could lay my hands on. I translated Giardini's *Riccordi.* I wrote *The Travnik Chronicle, The Bridge on the Drina,* then *Miss.* I pulled the past around me like an oxygen tent. The daily life of a diplomat leaves precious little time for writing. I'd been storing away notes and ideas, hoping to work on them some day. Now, suddenly, I had all the time . . . years of it, stretching to infinity. I kept writing. It was like drawing up a testament. Then the darkness began to lift and in the daylight of 1945 the testament seemed worth keeping. The Bosnian trilogy went to the printer. He said I was the only

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author in his experience with four new books in a year."

I asked whether he had any favorites among his own stories. He mentioned several novellas, among them *The Devil's Yard* and *Mara the Courtesan.*

"Not the *Drina?*"

"No, strange as it may seem. I've always been happiest writing a long short story. The tale is our natural idiom, rather than the novel or the drama. The theatre is not a native form for us, despite the fact that it's been flourishing here for a couple of centuries. Behind every successful playwright of the South Slavs there is an alien voice, usually Greek or Italian. The same is true of our novelists. If you read them carefully, you hear subtle echoes—Flaubert, Gogol, Strindberg. Perhaps that's inevitable, art being what it is. Susceptibility is part of the creative condition. Still, at heart we're a simple Balkan folk. Our tradition is the fireside tale. Literary antimacassar can only blur it. It's not a shrill or momentous thing, this tale of ours, and we need quiet to tell it. But beyond doubt it is our own. If the reader takes it on those terms, he is usually rewarded with something that no other people can give him."

SOMEWHERE in the cozy recesses of the apartment a clock struck eight. I rose, apologizing for having stayed so long. They protested that I had not. Over the next twenty minutes, however, drifting a few steps at a time, still talking, we gained the hallway and the door.

"The novel, like a dazzling creature of fashion, has had a remarkable career," Andric said. "But it's becoming intellectualized and beginning to repeat itself; the law of diminishing returns, I suppose. So in a sense we're back to the novella, the tale, the timeless bedrock. And it happens to fit the communications pattern of the times. It has precision, economy, thrust. The light's on the content, not on gesture, stance, or rhetoric. Yes, the tale will be with us for a long time yet . . ."

The Breaking of Rainbows

Oil is spilling down the little stream
Below the bridge. Heavy and slow as blood,
It drops from the drain's lip, venomous,
Or with an idiot's driveling contempt:
The spectral film unfolding, spreading forth
Prismatically in a breaking of rainbows,
Reflective radiance, marble evanescence,
It shadows the secret moves the water makes,
Creeping upstream again, then prowling down,
Sometimes asleep in the dull corners, combed
As the deep grass is combed in the stream's abandon,
And sometimes tearing open silently
Its seamless fabric in momentary shapes
Unlikened and nameless as the shapes of sky
That open with the drift of cloud, and close,
High in the lonely mountains, silently.
The curve and glitter of it as it goes
The maze of its pursuit reflect the water
In agony under the alien, brilliant skin
It struggles to throw off and finally does
Throw off, on its frivolous purgatorial fall
Down to the sea and away, dancing and singing
Perpetual intercession for this filth,
Leaping and dancing and singing, forgiving everything.

—HOWARD NEMEROV

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edited by
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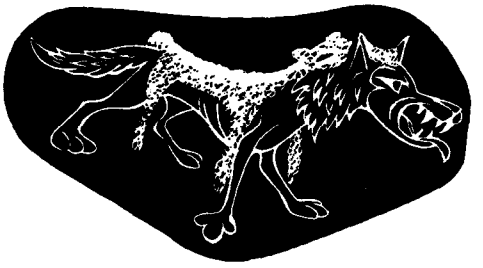

Partners in Disaster

MAX SALVADORI

THE BRUTAL FRIENDSHIP: MUSSOLINI, HITLER AND THE FALL OF ITALIAN FASCISM, by F. W. Deakin. *Harper & Row. $10.95.*

In this nine-hundred-page book dealing with the last three years of Italian Fascism, F. W. Deakin has produced an important piece of historical writing. Centered on Mussolini and German-Italian wartime relations, *The Brutal Friendship* takes its title from what Hitler, in a moment of candor, said about his association with Mussolini. The Führer had once admired the more experienced and somewhat older Duce, in whom he saw a political mentor: like many saner people, he had failed to see the shallowness under the bombastic crust. In Mussolini's final period, characterized as much by physical as by political decline, the admiration waned, but he remained the object of the German dictator's protective affection. No one can tell to what extent the previous admiration and the lasting affection were a factor in Hitler's policies of 1943-1945. But since these policies did affect the outcome of the war, interest in Deakin's work transcends what is implicit in the title.

A vast, detailed, and ever-changing panorama unfolds before the mind's eye. At the center is Fascist Italy, corroded long before the autumn of 1942 by the anti-war attitude of the overwhelming majority of the Italian nation, shrinking as time goes on before the engulfing tide of allied victories, breaking up even before the arrival of allied troops under the pressure of insurgent patriotism and revolutionary anti-Fascism. Over Fascist Italy hovers the long shadow coming from north of the Alps, from the Wolf's Lair and the Eagle's Nest. The scene is animated by men constantly on the move, at first fearful of or hoping for a crisis, later finding themselves in the midst of a deeper and more violent one than any had foreseen—the crisis of the Fascist state's total collapse. One sees people who intrigue and others who fight, while most, at all levels, are simply concerned with saving themselves and as much of their positions as possible. On the European scene of the Second World War, weighted by apocalytic doom, the tragedy of Italy presents its own poignant characteristics.

THE DRAMA opens with the late summer of 1942, when the Axis lost the initiative in the Mediterranean theatre. Mussolini specified August 28 as the day when the tide changed: lacking fuel, Rommel was brought to a stop only a short distance from the goal of the Nile Delta and Suez. (Hitler had dreamt of a gigantic pincer closing in the Middle East when, at the rear of the Turkish border, German divisions coming from the Caucasus would meet the divisions coming from Egypt.) The fuel gave out because too many Italian ships had been sunk in the Mediterranean; but Rommel's halt was thought to be no more than temporary. After all, the Axis, directly or through French collaborationists, was still in control of most of Africa's Mediterranean coast, the Italian peninsula, and large areas in the western Balkans. The book closes dramatically, with revolutionary justice meted to Fascist leaders in Milan's Piazzale Loreto on April 29, 1945.

Professor Deakin is warden of St.

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Antony's College, Oxford, and for many years assisted a foremost historian, Winston Churchill, in his historical writing. His scholarship is scrupulous and he possesses the artistic imagination necessary for bringing documents to life. The best chapters are probably those which describe and interpret the intricate maze of intrigues and conspiracies culminating on July 25, 1943, with the arrest of the Duce, decided on by a handful of courtiers and Fascist leaders when news reached Rome that Mussolini's request for more German help had not been fully granted. Succinct descriptions accurately portray the main figures.

The author had a practical concern with the problems and situations he describes. On leave from his duties with Churchill, Deakin was an officer in the branch of the British armed forces which functioned as liaison with underground movements and guerrilla bands in enemy territory. During the latter part of the war, the Mediterranean headquarters of this branch was in southern Italy. Deakin's main field of military activity was Yugoslavia, where he was parachuted, but he kept informed about what was going on in Italy. When the war ended he had access to a large mass of unpublished Italian and German official reports, minutes of meetings, letters, and telegrams.

Much in *The Brutal Friendship* confirms what is already known. It is important, however, to have new and irrefutable evidence. Italy was to a great extent dependent on Germany for military supplies—a sorry state of affairs after two decades of intensive militarism. Naturally enough, Mussolini considered the Mediterranean as the main theatre of war; for Hitler it was Russia. Italian generals resented German generals, in North Africa, in Russia, and in Italy during the last phase. The taking over of Italy by the Germans in the summer of 1943 was a masterpiece of organizational efficiency. After the allied landing at Salerno, Rommel advised a withdrawal to the Gothic Line, while Kesselring wanted to hold the hastily built Gustav Line several hundred miles to the south; Hitler decided, as he had done in other instances, to hold the most advanced point. This meant more German divisions in Italy. It was Hitler's decision that a sham Fascist régime be organized in northern Italy in September, 1943. Once again the story is told of British unwillingness to deal with agents of the Fascists and of the Badoglio government; of the contacts established by the highest-ranking German officials in Italy with the O.S.S. mission in Switzerland; of the go-between activities of high-ranking clerics.

There are points on which not all readers will be in agreement with Professor Deakin; when, for instance, he attributes the main initiative for the Italian Resistance to officers of the Italian armed forces. In his evaluation of the internal Italian scene, Deakin tends to share the views of the British foreign office, which consistently overestimated the influence of Fascist dissidents and of the monarchist groups and underestimated that of the anti-Fascist movement—both as an underground before the armistice and as the dynamic element in the Resistance after the armistice.

THE BOOK brings vividly to life the ever-widening gap between the two dictators and reality. In 1942, Mussolini thought a successful allied second front an absurdity; in 1944 he was convinced that the partisan uprising had exhausted itself; on July 25, 1943, he felt confident of the king's support; only on April 25, 1945, did he become aware that the Germans in Italy were dealing with the allies behind his back. In 1942, Hitler exaggerated enemy losses (400-420 divisions destroyed, twenty-five million tons of shipping sunk, he told Mussolini); in 1944 he placed a childish confidence in new weapons. Neither of them had a clear awareness of the American role in the war: one was fighting the Soviet Union, the other Great Britain; blinded by European anti-American prejudices and commonplaces, they were oblivious to the fact that American industry, if not American troops, was winning the war. The book also brings to light once more the meretriciousness, the moral cheapness, of those who had been Mussolini's close collaborators. There is little to choose between Farinacci who flees to Germany after July 25,

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THE REPORTER Acrostickler® No. 78

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A — 198 123 48 166 149 32 " ____, good lady; the bright day is done, / And we are for the dark." Shakespeare, "Antony and Cleopatra."

B — 4 18 79 182 121 Inclined planes serving as ways between different interior levels.

C — 16 12 168 103 113 87 23 A coming.

D — 34 117 28 101 14 119 To eat with small bites.

E — 46 224 89 115 30 93 139 "A sweet disorder in the dress /_____ in clothes a wantonness..." Herrick, "Daffodils."

F — 143 214 107 125 203 44 65 A member of an underwater demolition team.

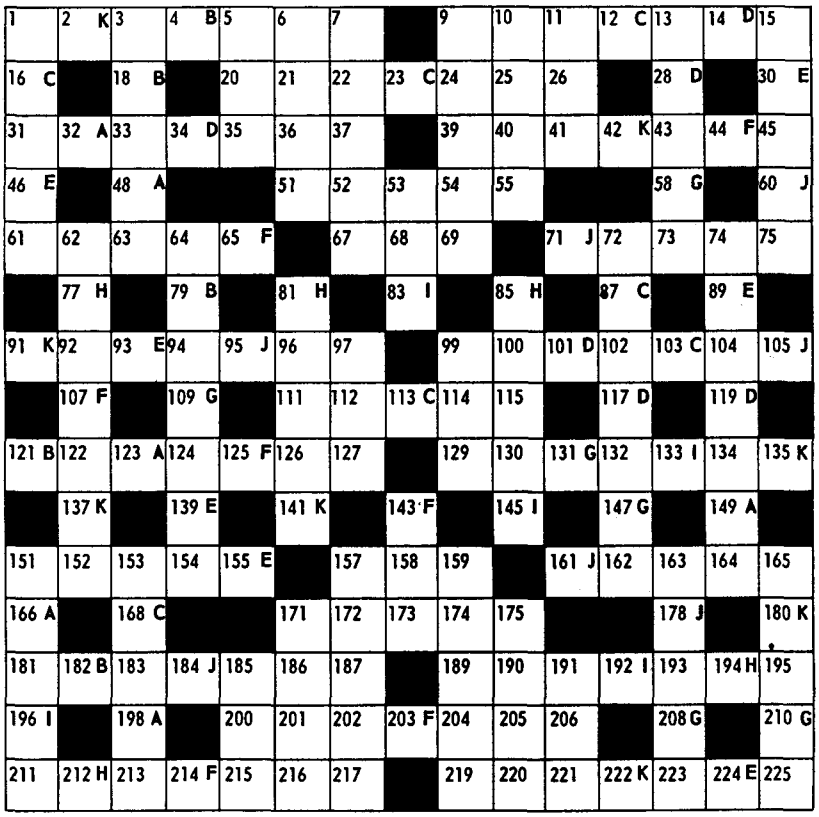
G — 210 58 147 109 208 131 "The dusky night rides down the sky, / And_____ in the morn..." Henry Fielding, "A-Hunting We Will Go."

H — 85 194 77 81 212 To remit attention or effort.

I — 83 133 145 196 192 "Give us the_____, and we will finish the job." Churchill, Radio Broadcast, February 9, 1941.

J — 60 71 105 95 161 184 178 "For spirits when they please / Can either sex assume, or both; so soft / And uncompounded is their_____ pure." Milton, "Paradise Lost."

K — 222 91 42 2 137 141 180 135 Petitions; solicits.



ACROSS

1. Give the purse to me; it's tops!
9. Ought Rachel to sing a hymn?
20. Look who won in Hong Kong...
31. ...the natives there, of course, by inches to the East.
39. Not even of different size.
51. A figure of speech or a pet rhetorical phrase.
61. Apparently took seats under the roof of silky material.
67. Use her when you apply to the Acrostician.
71. A net is somehow used to hold ale.
91. Rudiments of the active part of an electrical device.
99. Its barbs make hares change.
111. "Dad, I've killed a giant; 'e's out cold!"
121. Lashed his tail and took flight after a point.
129. A composer and his family come in cylinders.
151. A Roman goddess and a minister compiled all.
157. Provide a crew including him and me.
161. Epithets found in a message.
171. No men could be more neutral than this Indian.
181. Occupying three or more dimensions as a clip does (var. sp.).
189. Get on terms with this beast at once.
200. Burn to ashes on a mat in Crete.
211. The utmost limit, formerly 200 across, with no current.
219. Of the French king who wears a doublet in Michigan!

DOWN

1. Fires paper bags.
3. The cowboy's horse in song is something you might put on a wall.
5. To make do in the trek eastward.
6. It's superlative when a Roman bone is found in a mountain.
7. Pitchers that sound as if they don't belong to the drawers of water.
9. Dessert an automobile.
10. He is about on now but needs to sharpen up a bit.
11. Ten down in the sound of Bow Bells.
13. Castigate a sailor's employment.
15. Scott's heroine will measure up in two directions...
53. ...but not in this direction.
62. A low lead is permitted.
64. About half is about men, but all of it is vast indeed.
72. This girl makes a habit taking tea.
74. Strained in mood and apparently in another verbal function.
81. Earl, the jockey, climbed these mountains.
85. A Dior creation used as an advertising medium.
97. Lincoln's son as a small boy.
99. The returning pirate never ate on a tear.
143. The loyal supporter may stir the air.
151. Is ale allowed in the church passageway?
153. The call-up, the doctor back, and the current of air through.
157. Lee follows me into the free-for-all.
159. This Bedouin is the reverse of a great friend.
163. The French underground to the French sea.
165. This structural element may act proudly!
171. Address the lady thus, Mister, before noon, anyhow.
175. The tone of the message was changed.
185. Water at zero in barometric estimates.
191. Ten caught up in the same.

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Books worth keeping

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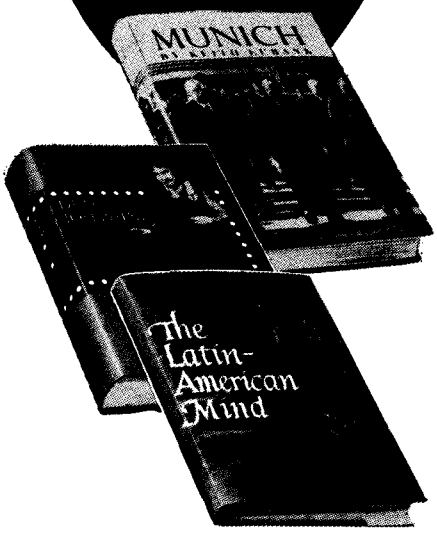

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Victor Emmanuel who shakes the hand of the man whose arrest he has ordered, and Grandi who writes obsequious letters to Churchill. The political sense on which the *gerarchi* prided themselves was of no avail in a crisis that could be faced only by men possessing a moral sense.

The Brutal Friendship will take its place among the best books written on European Fascism and on the Second World War. It makes no pretense at giving the total picture of political and military events in Italy from 1942-1945. The individuals with whom the book is concerned, numerous though they are, represent only a part of the reality of those years. There is more in Italian Fascism and its collapse than the vacillations of an aging man, the intrigues of small conflicting cliques, and the machinations of German political and military leaders. But whoever takes it upon himself to write the history of the last few years of Fascism in Italy will base his work on *The Brutal Friendship*. «»

World Turned Upside Down

ROBERT P. KNAPP, Jr.

March to Saratoga: General Burgoyne and the American Campaign, 1777, by Harrison Bird. *Oxford. $6.50.*

After Saratoga the American colonists could have lost, but the British could not by any means in their power have won the war in North America. Four more years were to pass until Yorktown, but when Burgoyne surrendered in October of 1777, the British struggle against the determined Americans and their newly acquired French allies became a hopeless one. Harrison Bird has now written a carefully studied and most handsomely constructed account of what may justly be called the most significant and decisive single battle of modern times. Appropriately it is a history both of military operations and of individuals, a very personal narrative as Saratoga was the very personal climax of a conflict between peoples. If the two peoples did not in every respect stand apart, their leaders certainly did, and at Saratoga as in nearly every event that led to the battle, the fallacies of British colonial policy were demonstrated in stunning succession.

The outcome was never really in doubt. Saratoga was not a campaign of lost opportunities for the defeated British. After two years of war with their recalcitrant colonies, the government of George III still relentlessly pursued the same policies that had brought those colonies first to rebellion and then to independence. And in the military application of those policies, John Burgoyne followed too closely—and in the end, slavishly—the same tactical principles that back in 1755 had led Braddock to his death and his men to virtual annihilation.

"Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne was an ironically appropriate choice for the leader and planner of the military effort that was to lose the Thirteen Colonies. A "complete man" of the eighteenth century, he was a dashing general, an eloquent member of Parliament, a satirical playwright, and at least a journeyman Casanova. In Parliament he had been the successful prosecutor of Clive, the conqueror of India, a role that must have been recalled bitterly by some after 1777. While in Boston in 1775, Burgoyne had written a play lampooning the prudery of the Bostonians. As the portrait of the playwright-general develops, it becomes clear that in fixing upon the prudery of the Bostonians, Burgoyne fatally neglected other and more fundamental American qualities. He vastly overestimated the Tory support that his expedition would rally. In unleashing his Indian allies, Burgoyne hardly foresaw the resulting mobilization of the Yankee militia that was to put him at a decisive numerical disadvantage when he and his march-worn troops at last reached the American fortifications south of the village now called Schuylerville, then Saratoga.

As the author brings us to the battlefield, we realize that not only two opposing armies but two opposing eras faced each other there. Burgoyne's troops were regulars; nearly half were German mercenaries, yet no more "mercenary" than those

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who had taken the King's shilling. The Germans, too, were fighting where their liege lords sent them. By medieval custom then still existing in the British Army, Burgoyne would not have been a general had he not been able to purchase commissions high enough to make him eligible for that rank. Major General Horatio Gates, the American commander, was also a product of the British regular army. Unlike Burgoyne, Gates had been unable to purchase a commission above the rank of major. The choice of the battleground and its fortification were the work of a Pole, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. At all times foremost in the American forces were Morgan's buckskinned Virginia Riflemen. The Continental regiments were principally from New England, but it was the militia drawn from those colonies and from the Dutch and German farmers of the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk that assured Burgoyne's downfall. Actually there were two separate engagements fought two and a half weeks apart. In the interval Burgoyne waited futilely for the force that was to come up the Hudson from New York to meet him. On October 7, 1777, American rifles shattered the last attempt of the British grenadiers to cut through. Under the almost demonic leadership of Benedict Arnold, the British and Hessian defensive works were overrun.

Calm and calculating even in his defeat, Burgoyne attempted to draw out negotiations with the victors, hoping for relief from New York, with no way of knowing that he was the victim not only of his own errors but of a clerical error made on a cold March night in London several months previously: the orders Burgoyne himself had drafted for the British advance up the Hudson had simply never been transmitted.

On October 17, to the prophetic strains of "The World Turned Upside Down," Burgoyne's forces surrendered to Gates at the village of Saratoga. It was the beginning of a viable United States of America and the grimly logical ending of a campaign planned in a distant war office by a man ignorant of the country in which he was to fight and self-deluded concerning the character of his adversaries.

But Does It Work?

VIRGINIA HELD

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY, by John E. Smith. *Oxford. $5.*

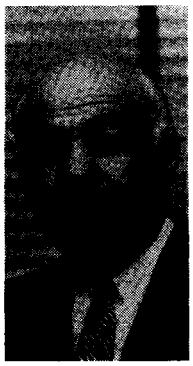
The constant identification of the Kennedy administration with pragmatism has nudged the United States a few steps closer than it has been in many years to what might be called an official philosophy. This is not saying a great deal, since a certain amused and scornful disdain for the abstractions and speculations of philosophers remains cheerfully embedded in the American character. Nevertheless, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a Presidential assistant who is sometimes cast in the role of reigning party theoretician, has seen pragmatism as not only the strength of a Democratic Party reinvigorated by John F. Kennedy but also as the keystone of the open, pluralistic, experimental philosophy of the West struggling against the closed, dogmatic ideology of Communism. Critics of the administration are becoming increasingly doubtful about its constant emphasis on techniques. ("Assuming we're moving, where are we going?," "The tactics are powerful, but what's the objective?"); the administration's defenders, meanwhile, hopefully await the accomplishments of its pragmatic methods as Congress gets down to work and the economy picks up speed.

At such a juncture, a book on American philosophy, of which pragmatism is a prime example, may be especially relevant. It would be useful if the sympathizers and the skeptics, be they governors or governed, would refresh themselves with the awareness that pragmatism is a much subtler as well as a more promising set of ideas than the mere glorification of practice over theory, action over reflection, and means over ends. Pragmatism has suffered from the popular compression and oversimplification of one part of John Dewey's thought into the formula: it's right if it works.

In clear language for the general

Can Man Control History by Understanding Its Laws?

SCIENCE AND HISTORY by Ernest Cuneo. 237 pages. $3.95. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.



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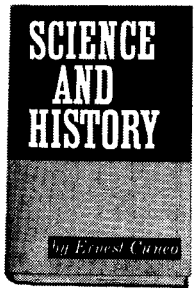

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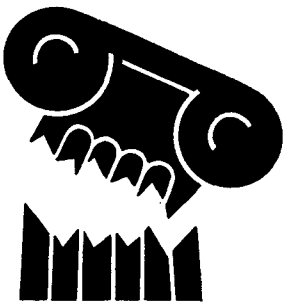

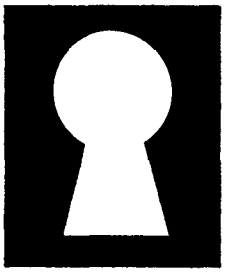

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"TWELVE YEARS ago Mr. McGeorge Bundy raised the eyebrows of the Catholic graduates of Yale by writing in the Atlantic Monthly *that no Catholic could be expected to understand Yale's traditions. Having in recent years worked in close quarters with another Catholic, he may by now have changed his mind about the capacity of Catholics to understand America's traditions. Or maybe he is more confused than ever, who knows?"*

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. P-5 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

reader, Professor Smith of Yale discusses the views of four distinguished American philosophers — Charles Peirce, William James, Josiah Royce, and John Dewey—and one English philosopher who taught at Harvard for many years, Alfred North Whitehead. Professor Smith finds a basic drift in all American philosophical thinking: "There are three dominant or focal beliefs through which our philosophic spirit can be articulated. First, the belief that thinking is primarily an *activity* in response to a concrete situation and that this activity is aimed at solving problems. Second, the belief that ideas and theories must have a 'cutting edge' or must *make a difference* in the conduct of people who hold them and in the situations in which they live. Third, the belief that *the earth can be civilized* and obstacles to progress overcome by the application of knowledge."

PRAGMATISM ITSELF began its career with Charles Peirce's theory of meaning. Peirce objected to the Cartesian doctrine that the import of an idea is purely theoretical. He wanted to include the operations and manipulations we perform in the process of inquiring into and testing an idea; his intention was to take the meaning of an idea out of the realm of pure abstraction and to place it in the world of activity and practice. In William James's formulation, pragmatism contested the view of experience presented by traditional empiricism, in which a passive spectator merely registers the information provided by his senses. Experience is not a passive affair, said James; it starts as "a booming, buzzing confusion," in which we manage to produce some order only by active intervention. A man experiencing is not a pure knower but an individual with aims and interests for whom the desire to know is but one desire among many. And life may not always allow us the luxury of suspending judgment, for, James pointed out, a decision *not* to decide an issue may have as important effects as any decision.

John Dewey called his version of pragmatism instrumentalism; he wanted to bridge the gap between practice and theory and saw science as the best example of the interde-

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pendence of doing and knowing. In short, he saw intelligence as man's instrument of progress.

It is unfortunate, one might suggest, that what was perhaps the least valid of the pragmatists' positions has had the widest influence. Their fruitful description of man trying essentially to *understand,* as scientist or investigator, was extended by Dewey to cover, as well, man trying essentially to *choose,* as social or political or moral agent. (The mistake of the Enlightenment was repeated.) But although knowing involves activity and although choice requires knowledge, the criteria for understanding what the given facts are and those for choosing what we want to do may not be reducible to each other. This Dewey seems to have failed to see, yet his attempted reduction of questions about what we should value to questions about the most effective means of achieving what we want has strongly influenced our time. The trouble with this approach, as Professor Smith notes, is that "a goal is not good merely because it can be reached."

A REASSESSMENT, though, is less apt to result from the new faith in Reason Professor Smith recommends than from a fresh look at experience. Such a fresh look may disclose the extent to which the pragmatic theory of value has itself degenerated into a dogma ill suited for dealing with the overwhelming current facts of international disorder, revolutions, and threatening conflagration.

Pragmatism is in any case no longer *the* philosophy of American philosophers. The philosophies of logical and linguistic analysis, which have widely superseded pragmatism in our universities, may be laying the foundations for important new ideas. But in their immediate effect, these scholastic unravelings are apt to be less helpful than pragmatism has been in the conduct of our political life.

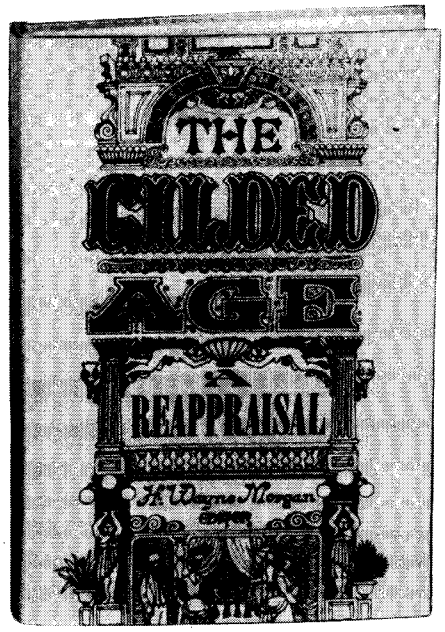
RECORD NOTES

AN INTRODUCTION TO GOSPEL SONG. (*RBF Records* RF 5, *distributed by Folkways, $5.95.*)

This album's modest title is accurate. There is as yet no comprehensive anthology of the full scope of Negro spirituals and the later gospel music, but these thirteen recordings from 1913 to 1954 are a useful start. The folklorist Samuel Charters, who compiled and edited the collection, begins with the formal, restrained singing of groups from Fisk University and the Tuskegee Institute. Although intermittently affecting, they softened the tradition in an attempt to show white listeners and the rising Negro middle class how "refined" spirituals could be. Much rawer emotionally are the various Negro preachers represented here. Some were more actors than soul-savers, but from such chanting spellbinders as Reverend J. M. Gates and Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux, it is possible to get some idea of the explosive release of feeling precipitated by the interplay between preacher and congregation which formed the base of Negro religious music. There is also an example (Sister Ernestine Washington with Bunk Johnson's band) of how early jazz was shaped in part by religious shouts. To supplement this prologue to gospel music, I suggest such superior recordings of the current idiom as any album by the Staple Singers, particularly *Hammer and Nails* (Riverside 3501).

TWO SIDES OF PINCHIK: CANTORIAL CHANTS AND YIDDISH FOLK SONGS. (*Collectors Guild* CG 622, *$4.98, 507 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.*)

Pierre Pinchik, a prestigious figure in the history of Jewish cantorial virtuosi, acquired his initial renown in his native Russia before coming to the United States in 1927. Trained in the fervent Chassidic tradition of Jewish singing, Pinchik was a startlingly resourceful improviser with a strong, penetrating tenor and a subtle command of dynamics which enabled him to range from fragile intimacy to fierce drama. As a Chassid, moreover, he felt no contradiction between humor and de-



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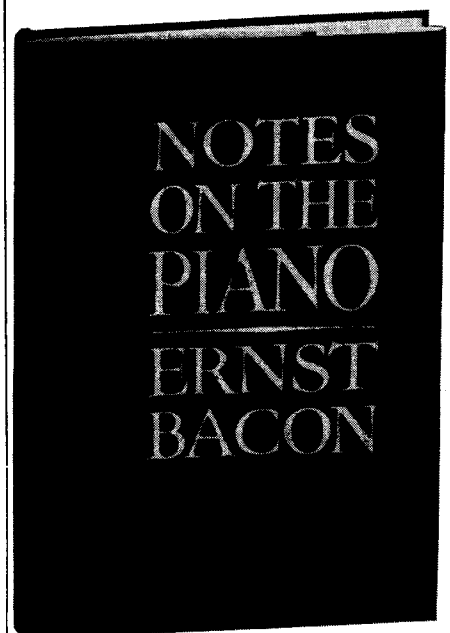

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The author defines the conditions under which the modern tragic vision must operate. He traces the complex issues involved in the contemporary treatment of the tragic theme through the works of Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Kafka, O'Neill, Sartre, Camus, Brecht, and Malraux.

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votion, as he indicates in the joyful celebration of the Sabbath in this collection. On the second side of the album, Pinchik concentrates on Yiddish folk music, and here too he is skillful at setting diversified moods—a wry reaction to overly assiduous Talmudic scholars, an anguished confrontation with death, a lullaby by a father envious of his child's innocence of care, and an anxious letter from America to a friend who remained in Russia ("It is said that they have horns like pikes/Eat live bourgeois in the streets"). As is customary in Collectors Guild's carefully prepared reissues of Jewish music, the liner contains both the original texts and complete translations. The quality of sound is remarkably good and has more presence than can be heard in many of the historical projects of the major labels.

HARD TRAVELIN': LESTER FLATT AND EARL SCRUGGS. (*Columbia* CL 1951, *$3.98, stereo* CS 8751, *$4.98.*)

Earl Scruggs, a banjo picker of stunning and pervasively influential technique, has long been joined with Lester Flatt in the most successful of all bluegrass bands. Flatt is a guitarist who sings Southern ballads (some adapted from venerable Anglo-American models), religious tunes, and contemporary country songs with a casualness and tart grace which reflect his lifelong indoctrination into the power of understatement endemic to Southern folkways. The bluegrass band is composed of unamplified string instruments; and when the performers have been together as long as the Flatt and Scruggs unit, they play with a zest for the challenges of polyphonic improvisation that recalls the careening self-satisfaction of first-rate Dixieland combos. In *Hard Travelin'*, Flatt and Scruggs acknowledge their growing audience in colleges and metropolitan areas by including two numbers by Woody Guthrie, the chief guru of the citybillies. Guthrie's songs of the road fit comfortably into the bluegrass vein, as does "The Ballad of Jed Clampett," a theme song Flatt and Scruggs recorded for this season's television hit, "The Beverly Hillbillies." The song is that program's only mark of distinction. For this album, Pete Welding has written a clear, informed analysis of bluegrass, a style which has converted many urban listeners who used to dismiss all country music as "hillbilly corn." It can be much more rewarding than that, as Flatt and Scruggs make clear.

SANGEETA MADRAS: MAGIC MUSIC FROM SOUTH INDIA. (*World-Pacific* 1426, *$4.98, stereo* S-1426, *$4.98.*)

As an increasing nucleus of young American musicians—primarily jazz and folk players—is discovering, there are rhythmic and melodic subtleties in the unwritten classical music of India which make most western music sound simplistic in those areas. (The West is much more advanced harmonically, however, because harmony occurs in Indian music mainly by accident.) Because of the long-playing record and the profusion of exotic material it has made available, more lay listeners are also beginning to discover that Indian music is not as inaccessible as it may appear to be on first listening. This brilliantly recorded concert by five leading improvisers from Madras is an excellent starting point for those curious about the paradox of Indian music, which is played within strict forms but which also permits infinite variations within those forms. With one exception, all these musicians were acknowledged prodigies by the age of seven. Their mesmeric web of sound is created by such means as the vina, a pungently resonant stringed instrument; the venu, an evocatively pure-toned flute; and various rhythm instruments that provide a foundation of such stimulating and ingenious complexity as to be capable of imposing a mass inferiority complex on the most avant-garde of jazz drummers. —NAT HENTOFF

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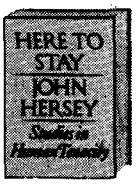

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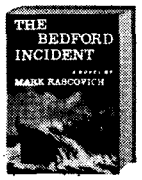

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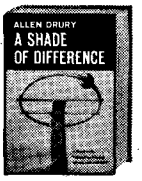

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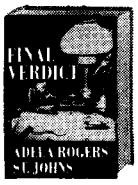

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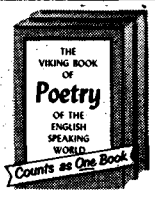

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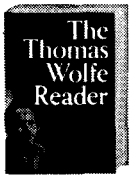

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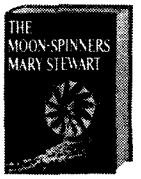

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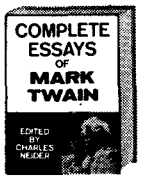

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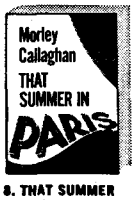

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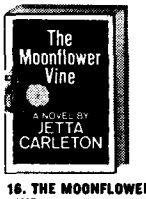

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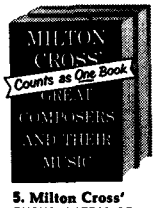

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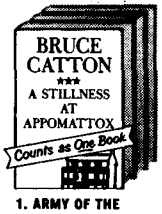

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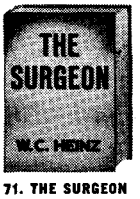

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